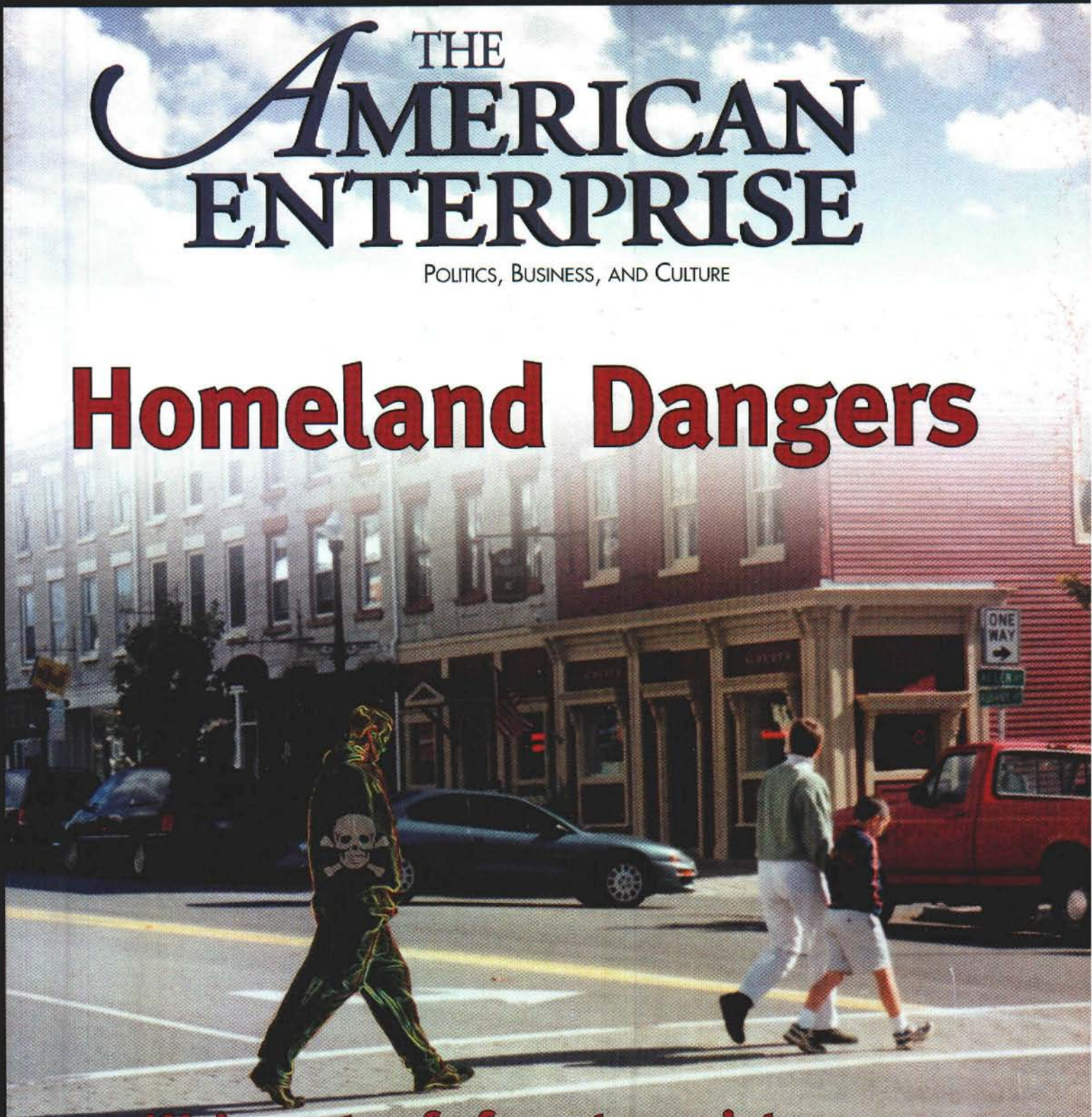
STATE DEPARTMENT FROM HELL | ORIANA FALLACI SPEAKS OUT | NEWT GINGRICH

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

POLITICS, BUSINESS, AND CULTURE

Homeland Dangers



We're not safe from terrorists now. Here's how to get there.

play until 2/12/03 $4.95

74470 99065 9 01
www.TAEmag.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JANUARY/FEBRUARY 2003

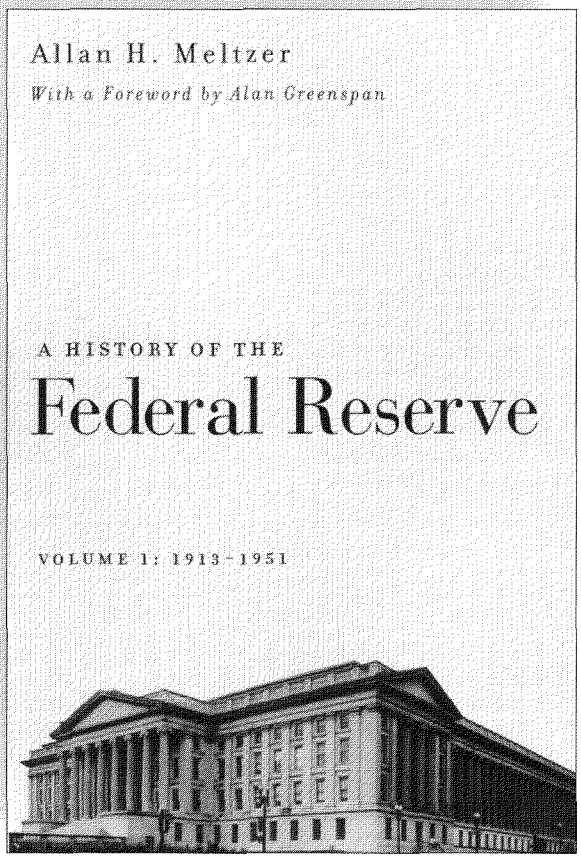
A HISTORY OF THE
Federal Reserve
VOLUME 1: 1913–1951

Allan H. Meltzer

With a Foreword by **Alan Greenspan**

"Allan Meltzer . . . has delved deeply into the history of the Federal Reserve System, with a result that will add substantially to the discourse on the institution's role and development. He has reviewed the records of policy discussion at an extraordinary level of detail, and his analysis illuminates the contributions of the many fascinating individuals who shaped the Federal Reserve System we know today."
—Alan Greenspan, from the Foreword

"A definitive history of the U.S. Federal Reserve from its founding in 1913 to its establishment as a separate, independent entity in 1951. . . . Well written and thoroughgoing."—*Library Journal*



CLOTH $75.00

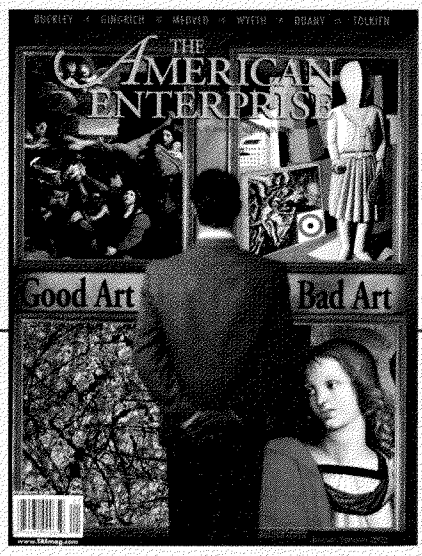
"Allan Meltzer's marvelous *History of the Federal Reserve* is the product of years of work by a leader in monetary research. It will be basic reading for everyone interested in monetary theory and policy."—Robert E. Lucas Jr., John Dewey Distinguished Service Professor of Economics, University of Chicago

Available in bookstores.

The University of Chicago Press

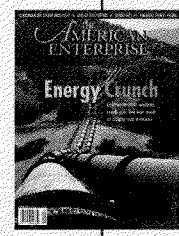
www.press.uchicago.edu

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



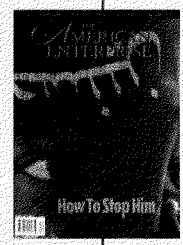
Read the Very Best

"I have been an enthusiastic reader for years. From where I sit, *Commentary* was the most important conservative magazine in the 1980s, but *First Things* rose to claim that title in the early 1990s, and then gave way to *The American Enterprise*, which I think has been the most important conservative magazine since about 1997."
—Mark Henrie, Senior Editor/Journals, Intercollegiate Studies Institute



"Stimulating and interesting. A very fine magazine."
—Ambassador Max Kampelman

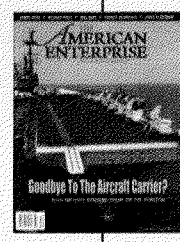
"Because I raise funds for political organizations I read virtually every political magazine published in America. Most I read because I must, but your journal I read because I want to. *The American Enterprise* is undoubtedly the best journal of thought and opinion in America."
—Bruce Eberle, Eberle Communications Group, McLean, Virginia



"The thoughtful pieces and cultural critique provided in *The American Enterprise* set exactly the right tone for national discussions."
—U.S. Senators Sam Brownback and Rick Santorum

"As former editor in chief of *Chief Executive* magazine I read your publication quite closely; it's one of the best edited publications on society and politics. Keep it up."
—J. P. Donlon, Principal, The Dilenschneider Group

"By far the best national policy magazine being published today."
—Merrick Carey, CEO, Lexington Institute



"I love *The American Enterprise*. The magazine reads wonderfully."
—Abigail Thernstrom, Harvard University

...For The Very Least

Annual subscription costs:

American Spectator	$ 34.95	National Review	$ 59.00
The Economist	$125.00	The New Republic	$ 59.94
First Things	$ 34.00	The Weekly Standard	$ 78.00
Human Events	$ 79.95		
The Nation	$ 35.97	**The American Enterprise**	**$28.00**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

POLITICS, BUSINESS, AND CULTURE

JANUARY/FEBRUARY 2003 VOL. 14, NO. 1

PAGE 40

4 BIRD'S EYE ◆ *Newt Gingrich*
Terrorists pose a clear and present danger to American lives and the nation's values. We've got to get tough, and the Department of Homeland Security will do the job.

6 SIDELIGHTS
Safe in New York. Canine criminals. Vibrators for Big Red. A new "church."

7 SCAN
Libertarian losers? Bush and his pooch. Killer Party. Guns and equality.

12 FORWARD OBSERVER ◆ *James Glassman*
What two dead economists can teach us about America's current financial woes.

13 POLITICO ◆ *Grover Norquist*
The GOP victories in November's elections offer lessons about a conservative future.

14 "LIVE" WITH TAE
He's the nation's chief law enforcement officer and a champion of conservative principle: Attorney General John Ashcroft talks about the war on terror, music, Ned Flanders, and calico cats.

18 NO COMPROMISES ON TERROR
Karina Rollins
If we don't shape up, we'll lose the war against our enemies.

22 ARLINGTON FIGHTS TERROR
Eli Lehrer
Arlington, Virginia has faced as many terror attacks as any city in America. Are the cops ready?

26 READY FOR BIO-WAR?
Scott Gottlieb
Genetically engineered plagues are possibly the biggest threat Americans face. It's time for public health officials to take bold action to protect us.

28 BETTER SAFE AND (OCCASIONALLY) SORRY
Scott Johnson
The case for racial profiling.

32 A FATAL FLAW?
Norman Ornstein and John Fortier
A hole in the Constitutional system could prevent Congress from acting in a crisis.

34 THE GOLDEN DOOR—LEFT OPEN
Nikolai Wenzel and *Michelle Malkin* describe America's failed visa and border security system. *Jane Barnes Mack-Cozzo* reports that the situation in Europe isn't much better. Read it and weep.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

38 KEEP LEGAL BATTLES OFF THE BATTLEFIELD
Alan Dowd
We need warriors, not lawyers.

40 HOMELAND DEFENSE BEGINS AT HOME
Chris Weinkopf
How weapons training can help prepare Americans to protect themselves.

43 OUR VALUES, IRAQ'S FREEDOM
Stephen Solarz
Why Democrats should support regime change in Iraq.

44 THE CASE FOR A HOME GUARD
Robert Cottrol
How ROTC can help us win the war on terror.

46 HOW THE WEST WILL BE LOST
Oriana Fallaci
Radical Islam seeks to destroy the complacent, passionless West.

PAGE 52

48 IN REAL LIFE ◆ *First person America*
Seth Cropsey celebrates the life of a Romanian orphan.

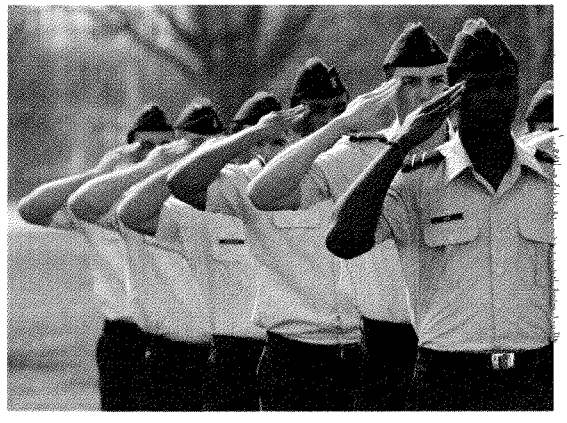
49 WORKING LUNCH
Former White House speechwriter David Frum talks about President Bush, the war on terror, and his new book.

50 THE ECONOMIST
Karl Zinsmeister explains why Social Security reform could be the tonic to revive an ailing New York City.

51 FLASHBACK ◆ *Bill Kauffman*
Americans know all about Martin Luther and Martin Luther King. But they've forgotten Luther Martin.

52 BEAT THE PRESS ◆ *Jonah Goldberg*
The Left cares deeply about free speech—particularly when it doesn't matter.

53 BOOK TALK
- Jesse Walker—*The Nat Hentoff Reader* by Nat Hentoff
- Naomi Schaefer—*Religion, Scholarship, & Higher Education* edited by Andrea Sterk
- Eric Cox—*An Unlikely Conservative* by Linda Chavez



PAGE 44

56 NOW PLAYING ◆ *Josh Larsen*
See it in Imax. You'll like it.

57 THE DIGEST ◆ *Summaries of important research*
Bhutan needs McDonalds. Let Colleges pick accreditors. States' rights on steroids.

60 OPINION PULSE ◆ *The latest survey data*
Polling from the World War II homefront. The wages of war. When Americans were willing to sacrifice.

63 THE MAIL

64 LAST GASP

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE
POLITICS, BUSINESS, AND CULTURE

January/February 2003 Vol. 14, No. 1

Publisher Christopher DeMuth
Editor in Chief Karl Zinsmeister
Senior Editors Eli Lehrer
Karina Rollins
Associate Editors Brandon Bosworth
Bill Kauffman
John Meroney
Opinion Pulse Editor Karlyn Bowman
Art Director Susan v. Levine
Graphic Designer Jeanne Berger
Proofreader David Brandt
Interns Kristen Dennis
Rachel Jurado
Web Designers Kathryn Burrows
Peter Brownfeld
Marketing Director Ann Zinsmeister
Business Manager Garth Cadiz
Chief of Operations David Gerson
Contributing Writers Edward Ericson, James Glassman, Jonah Goldberg, Kevin Hassett, Blake Hurst, Joel Kotkin, Philip Langdon, Daniel Lapin, Josh Larsen, Catesby Leigh, George Liebmann, Deroy Murdock, Grover Norquist, Ralph Reiland, Naomi Schaefer, Ben Stein, Frederick Turner, Scott Walter, Ray Wisher

Web Site
www.TAEmag.com

Letters to the Editor
"The Mail," The American Enterprise,
1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036,
or fax (202) 862-5867, or e-mail TAE@aei.org

Main Editorial and Production Office
The American Enterprise
1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 862-5887, or e-mail TAE@aei.org

Office of the Editor in Chief
The American Enterprise
23 Hurd Street, Cazenovia, N.Y. 13035
(315) 655-1033

Manuscripts
The editors welcome article submissions.
Send to TAE@aei.org or "Submissions" at our
Washington, D.C. mailing address.

Back Issues
Send $6 per copy to The American Enterprise,
109 Briarcliffe Road, Dewitt, N.Y. 13214.
(Add $5 per copy for foreign delivery.)

Subscriptions
New or Problems: (888) 295-9007. $28 for one year.
Add $30 per year for foreign delivery.

Postmaster: Send all subscription correspondence and address changes to The American Enterprise, P.O. Box 7144, Bensenville, IL 60106-7144. ISSN 1047-3572. Published eight times per year (J/F, M, A/M, J, J/A, S, O/N, D) by the American Enterprise Institute, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Periodicals postage paid at Washington, D.C., and additional mailing offices. Copyright © 2003, the American Enterprise Institute. All rights reserved.

Bird's Eye

Newt Gingrich

Defend the Homeland — Or Lose It

Six weeks before September 11, the Central Intelligence Agency informed the Federal Bureau of Investigation that two terrorists had entered the United States. Yet the terrorists were able to board a plane in Boston using their own names.

Every American must understand the drastic need to transform homeland security. It is not complicated. There are those in the world who know what America is and what it stands for and who are committed to destroying us. They are not open to negotiation. Our very existence threatens the values of the followers of the reactionary form of Islam, principally the Wahabi and Deobandi sects. We must design an enduring strategy, as we did for the defeat of communism, to ensure the victory of our values. The scale of this Islamic challenge is very important for Americans to understand, as is the inevitable violence that will continue to reach us here at home if we choose not to defeat it.

The concept of a Homeland Security Agency was contained in a March 2001 report by the Hart-Rudman Commission, started by President Bill Clinton and myself in 1997. The most sobering prediction, largely ignored by the media, was the Commission's warning that it is likely that a nuclear, chemical, or biological weapon of mass destruction will be used on an American city in the next 25 years and that the most probable source would be terrorism. The Commission recommended that the United States prepare a homeland security agency that would be able to respond to as many as four cities hit simultaneously with mass-destruction weapons. The Commission's unanimous conclusion was that anything less would be to gravely underestimate the danger and unnecessarily risk lives.

We must recognize that our cities are always threatened. We are threatened not only by missiles, both ballistic and cruise, but also, and more likely, by terrorists delivering violence in unexpected ways, as 9/11 proved. Yet more than a year later, we still do not have an effective interagency process to enable 22 separate agencies with Congressional oversight by 88 committees to work together effectively. This failing could be a matter of life and death.

Just as nearly 800 people were taken hostage recently in a Moscow theater by Chechen rebels, Americans should no longer assume that wars take place only in far-off lands. It is the nature of terrorism to disrupt stable societies as a tactic to soften public support for military action. Similarly, if we move to replace Saddam Hussein, we should be aware that reprisals might be attempted on American soil.

The recent sniper attacks around Washington, D.C. demonstrated the ease with which just two people can terrorize and disrupt the daily routines of millions. We have yet to solve the mystery of the anthrax cases shortly after 9/11. The quality of the anthrax was reportedly of such high grade that the expense and sophistication excludes the possibility of one individual and points to the likelihood that the attack had the support of a government. Despite such threats, it should be possible, with entrepreneurial leadership, to make America the best-defended country in the world

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with minimum inconvenience to her citizens. But moving forward incrementally is not acceptable: We must accept quick failures to get large breakthroughs.

The Hart-Rudman Commission called for a homeland security agency that is separate from the Defense Department. If the United States is engaged in a war overseas when an attack occurs at home, the secretary of defense cannot be expected to manage both an offensive campaign abroad and a defensive one at home. So, a Department of Homeland Security must be a serious agency with real power, its own budget, and the ability to hire and fire. The new department should be centered around three major functions: predictive and pre-emptive intelligence capabilities; closing existing vulnerabilities; and coordinating federal, state and local response and recovery.

The homeland security strategy should also include a domestic anti-terrorism agency that is independent of the FBI and CIA. The CIA, charged with intelligence gathering, can track terrorists worldwide but cannot operate within our own borders. The FBI has historically been a law enforcement agency that investigates crimes that have already been committed. What is absent is the equivalent of the U.K.'s MI-5 Security Service that collects intelligence domestically.

The fact that we inspect less than 1 percent of the 3.5 million containers that enter our ports every year is one example of a significant vulnerability. And, of course, merely checking ID cards and allowing uninspected luggage to be loaded on commercial planes is nowhere near the level of security needed. It is imperative that we use the newest technology to maximize security while minimizing inconvenience. These are large capital investments, but with relatively low personnel costs—which in the long run will cost less than the current labor-intensive system.

The greatest threat to the human race over the next 30 to 50 years is an engineered infectious biological weapon. (See Scott Gottlieb's article on page 26.) The bubonic plague killed about a third of the population of Europe between 1347 and 1348. In North America, multiple diseases killed up to 96 percent of American Indians in some villages. A genetically engineered retrovirus could render our current vaccines useless, leaving our population utterly defenseless to a deadly and horrific epidemic. We are not prepared to discover the virus as soon as it appears, or develop and deploy a new vaccine in a race against time. The 55,000 drug stores across the country should all be part of a virtual public health service that, in a crisis, could quickly disseminate live-saving information and available treatments.

Time is on the side of our enemies. They have the leisure of searching out a single opportunity, because they only have to hit once. They don't have to attack us every day. But we must sustain freedom every day.

And the need for a global missile defense hasn't died. We need a system capable of not only protecting our troops overseas, but also our homeland. Such a system can only work if it is space-based.

In terms of response and recovery ability, the Federal Emergency Management Agency is the logical base around which to build a response system for a domestic crisis. FEMA deals regularly with disasters and has worked with local civilian emergency service personnel during floods, after hurricanes, tornadoes, and earthquakes, and on the terror sites of 9/11. It will be necessary to allocate and dedicate parts of the National Guard to such service. (For some creative yet common sense thinking on employing the ROTC, see Robert Cottrol's article on page 44.)

The danger from an attack with weapons of mass destruction is greater than many people believe, and the complications of dealing with such an attack, colossal. A prepared America could save hundreds of thousands and possibly millions of lives in the event of such a disaster. This cannot be accomplished without true coordination of the military, FEMA, the Centers for Disease Control, the FBI, and state and local authorities.

A worldwide economic system and a prosperous free society are inevitably vulnerable to state-supported terrorism. Time is on the side of our enemies. They have the leisure of searching out a single opportunity, because they only have to hit once. They don't have to attack us every day. But we must sustain freedom every day.

We must remain vigilant and not repeat the historic errors of 1918 or 1945 when we had the same desire that many have today—to streamline our military, to reduce our forces, to withdraw from the world. By 1947, it was clear that that was not possible. Today our military capacity is too small. We will always need more intelligence and a greater ability to project power than we have now. We must steel ourselves for a deadly struggle. Our lives depend on it.

BIRD'S EYE guest author Newt Gingrich is former speaker of the House of Representatives and a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute.

Karl Zinsmeister will return in our next issue.

This installment of *The American Enterprise* was commissioned by Karl Zinsmeister and edited by Karina Rollins and Eli Lehrer.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sidelights

Sixty percent of Europeans favor an American-led invasion of Iraq as long as the U.S. first secures the support of its allies and the United Nations, according to a survey by the German Marshall Fund. ··· Sixty-nine percent of Americans aged 18 to 29 back U.S. military action against Iraq, according to a Pew Research Center poll; 51 percent of Americans aged 65 or older support military action. ❦ London mayor **Ken Livingstone** has said he feels safer in New York than in his home city. ❦ One in eight Berliners live below the poverty line, states a recent government report. ❦ To maintain its population, Italy needs to bring in 350,000 immigrants per year, reports the United Nations. Without additional immigration, Italy's population will drop 27 percent by 2025. Retirees now account for 40 percent of Italians.

Imad Falouji, communications minister of the Palestinian Authority, told Palestinian television viewers that Israel opposes peace because of the "Jewish nature." "The Jewish nation" he said, "from the dawn of history, from the time Allah created them, lives by scheme and deceit." ❦ Iranian Muslim cleric **Hojatoleslam Hasani** has called for the arrest of all dogs and their owners. "I demand the judiciary arrest all dogs with long, medium or short legs together with their long-legged owners, otherwise I will arrest them myself." ❦ The Muhammadiyah Students Association, an Indonesia-based Muslim student group, will give the U.S. a "Terrorism Award." According to the group's chairman, **Piet Hizbullah Haidir**, America "does not pay any heed to the interests of other countries, and instead interferes in the affairs of other countries just to further its own interests."

Men who marched naked in Toronto's Gay Pride Day parade were cleared of public nudity charges because they were wearing shoes. ❦ Cornell University in New York is considering the sale of vibrators in the dispensary. Student **Somjen Frazer**, a researcher for the Women's Health Initiative, supports the plan as "part of a holistic health approach." ··· Citing a Constitutional right to privacy, U.S. district judge **Lynwood Smith, Jr.** struck down an Alabama law banning the sale of vibrators and other sex toys. ❦ A new regulation in Long Beach Island, New Jersey mandates that anyone wishing to use local ball fields must sign an agreement stating he will not taunt opponents or argue with officials.

A General Accounting Office audit found that U.S. Naval personnel used government credit cards to charge $40,000 at strip clubs and brothels. ❦ Actress **Alicia Silverstone** told *Crunch* magazine that the "treatment of animals is outrageous. As bad as slavery or the Holocaust." ··· New York subway vigilante **Bernhard Goetz** believes a "quarter of the world's problems would be solved if most people would become vegetarians," according to a piece in *The New Yorker.* ··· The Vienna city government has suggested putting diapers on carriage-drawing horses. Animal rights activists protested the plan by holding demonstrations clad in diapers. ❦ The American abortion rate fell 11 percent from 1994 to 2000, according to a study by the Alan Guttmacher Institute. Among girls ages 15 through 17, the rate dropped 39 percent. ❦ Former Costco worker **Kimberly Cloutier** filed a discrimination suit against the retailer, claiming that her religious rights were violated when she was fired for wearing an eyebrow ring. Cloutier is a member of the Church of Body Modification, based in Oregon. ··· Kentucky prison inmates are no longer allowed to worship Satan. Prison spokeswoman **Lisa Carnahan** said there is "information that indicates that satanic services could be a threat to the institutions."

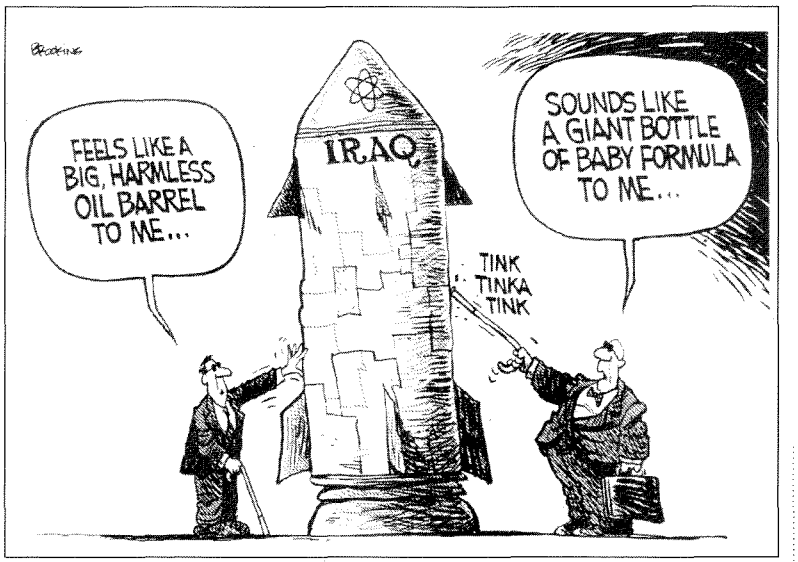
"Unhappiness used to be a serious problem but nowadays we can clear it up in a jiffy."

In an effort to attract younger viewers, CNN is encouraging the use of modern slang in news reports. An internal memo suggested employees use a slang dictionary "to help all you homeys and honeys add a new flava to your tickers and deckos." Words that have appeared in CNN news headlines include "bling-bling" and "jimmy hat."

—BB

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Scan



©Tribune Media

KILLER CONSERVATIVES

Conservatives are used to being called callous and uncaring, being accused of wanting to throw grandmothers out in the snow, starve school kids, cut down every tree in sight, poison all the rivers and lakes, bomb the Third World, lock up minorities, and so on. But until recently the full evil of conservatism has been successfully concealed. Now we've finally learned that conservative rule makes people want to kill themselves.

"Suicide Rises Under Conservative Rule," says a September 20 headline on the Web site of *Nature* magazine. "A nation's suicide rate increases under right-wing governments, according to two studies that have looked at Australia and Britain over the past century." As the saying goes, *we're not making this up*. The story was based on two articles in the British *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*. One of the articles, entitled "Mortality and Political Climate: How Suicide Rates Have Risen During Periods of Conservative Government, 1901-2000," has a subhead that tells it all: "Do Conservative Governments Make People Want to Die?"

Some extracts: "Alienation and isolation may run higher in societies driven by competitive market forces.... Left-wing rule, focusing more on equality, might put people under less pressure." One study in Britain suggested there were 35,000 more suicides under Conservative governments in the twentieth century than there would have been had the Labour Party been in power for the entire century. Of course, fancy statistical regressions can't handle counterfactual scenarios, such as the economic suicide that perpetual Labour Party rule would have brought to Britain.

But this is a mere quibble. These studies have exposed the ultimate conservative strategy for reducing welfare spending and suppressing liberal turnout. (You don't think those suicides are *conservative* voters, do you?) Never mind the gender gap; liberals now have a "suicide gap" to crow about.

How long before Jesse Jackson adds this to his repertoire about genocidal conservatives? The left-leaning public health lobby is likely to demand that a new category be added to death certificates: "Died of conservative governance." And think of the class action lawsuit the trial lawyers may bring; it gives a whole new meaning to "ambulance chasing."

Former Vice President Walter Mondale, amidst his smashing triumphs against Ronald Reagan in two locales (Minnesota and Washington, D.C.) in the 1984 Presidential campaign, proclaimed that the constituencies he embraced included "the sad." Now, thanks to *Nature* magazine, we can see that he was just ahead of his time.

Of course, an alternative theory needs to be studied: Conservatives may just be happier, more stable people, less prone to suicidal despair when their opponents come to power. The empirical evidence here is abundant: How often to you hear Rush Limbaugh laugh, and how often do you hear Mario Cuomo or Bill Press laugh? Is the fact that Al Gore and Tom Daschle look like morticians merely a coincidence, or rather a good fit for their followers?

—**Steven Hayward** *is an AEI fellow who writes* Environmental Outlook.

AMERICA'S IRRELEVANT THIRD PARTY

The only apparent purpose of the Libertarian Party is to distract and confuse the determined combatants in our most critical national struggles.

Consider the Libertarian role in the most recent midterm elections. South Dakota represented ground zero in the struggle for control of the Senate, and Republican John Thune and incumbent Democrat Tim Johnson fought to a virtual tie—only 524 votes (less than 0.2 percent) divided them. Meanwhile, 3,071 votes went to Libertarian Kurt Evans, a 32-year-old school teacher who listed as one of his prime preparations for the Senate that his father is a known Western musician.

Not all the purists and oddballs who vote Libertarian are conservative, but polls show that most of them do prefer Republicans over Democrats. Imagine if only one third of Kurt Evans' voters had thought seriously enough about the importance of the election to cast their votes for Republican Thune. The shift of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

those thousand votes to a real candidate could have altered U.S. political history, and the subtraction of those votes from Evans' total would in no way have altered the dubious message of his campaign.

South Dakota wasn't the only state where the self-indulgent madness of Libertarian jokesters interfered with the serious business of politics. In the Alabama governor's race, another virtual tie between Republicans and Democrats, the Libertarian nominee drew 23,242 lost souls (2 percent) to his campaign—more than seven times the margin between the two real candidates. In Oregon's contest for governor, the gap between the Democrat and Republican came to 33,437 votes while the Libertarian jester, Thomas Cox, drew 56,141 votes (4.6 percent). Mr. Cox listed among his spotty qualifications for the governorship his "five years on the Math Team in grades 8-12."

This would be amusing were it not so irresponsible. Libertarians win no races of any significance anywhere in the United States. The Pathetic Party's press release acknowledged that it "emerged from Election 2002 with decidedly mixed results," yet still boasted that "Bob Dempsey was re-elected as San Miguel County coroner" (in Colorado) and "in California, Eric Lund was elected to the Cordova Recreation and Park Board."

Despite such glittering triumphs, the party's national standing continues its relentless decline. The Libertarians reached their feeble high water mark more than 20 years ago, when Ed Clark won 1.06 percent of the vote in his race for the Presidency against Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter. In 1996, Harry Browne performed half as well (0.5 percent), and fared even worse in 2000. Still, the Libertarians claim they are influencing the national debate.

It ought to be obvious that you can only change a major party by participating in its affairs and joining its internal struggles, not by walking away from it. There is simply no historical evidence to support the cliche that third parties influence the nation by forcing the major parties to adopt their ideas. Populists only managed to take over the Democratic Party when they dropped their independent campaigning and decided to hitch a ride on the donkey; Socialists remained a suspect fringe operation until they, too, made common cause with the Democrats during the crisis of the Great Depression.

Their appalling record of electoral rejection doesn't mean that libertarian ideas are worthless—in fact, those values and innovations can enrich our political dialogue significantly if promoted in the appropriate manner. Ron Paul, Libertarian Presidential candidate in 1988, got the right idea after receiving his 0.47 percent of the vote, when he re-joined the Republicans, ran for Congress, and won—playing a constructive role representing his Texas district. The refusal by other Libertarians to follow this successful example represents a demented eccentricity that condemns them to life on the political fringe.

When Pat Buchanan ran for the Republican Presidential nomination (twice), he made some serious noise and exerted a powerful influence on his party. When he abandoned the GOP and sought the White House as the nominee of the Reform Party he became a painful, insignificant embarrassment. Libertarians who seek to advance their agenda will meet with far greater success running as primary candidates within the two-party system than they have achieved in all their weary decades of wandering in the fringe faction wilderness.

WIN WIN

Since 1995, more than 1 million people have left the welfare rolls in New York State, saving taxpayers billions of dollars, and improving the life of most of the individuals leaving public assistance. A recent study conducted by a branch of the State University of New York found that 79 percent of those nudged off welfare have not returned to the rolls. And 71 percent said they ended up better off economically after they stopped receiving checks. Most took jobs after leaving the dole.

Dante is generally credited with the statement that "the hottest circles in hell are reserved for those who in times of moral crisis maintain their neutrality." We should reserve some space in those inflammed precincts for those who in times of moral crisis cast meaningless votes for irrelevant third parties.

—**Michael Medved** *hosts a national daily radio talk-show on politics and popular culture.*

AIMING FOR EQUALITY

Every year, feminists across the nation hold "Take Back the Night" marches to protest violence committed by men against women. They march, hand out brochures denouncing the "cultural ideology" of violence, and hold speak-ins. But do they do anything to help women protect themselves in a hostile world?

Hardly. Because that could involve arming women—something utterly unpalatable to most liberal feminists. They would rather fight off would-be rapists with pamphlets and sit-ins.

Earlier this year, the Patrick Henry Center for Individual Liberty and the Second Amendment Sisters sponsored a more practical effort to protect women. They launched a beginner's gun class for women. Since its inception, the "Patriettes" program has trained graduates in the basics of firearm safety and range shooting. The program also helps women apply for concealed-carry gun permits.

No amount of marching will change the basic biological differences that create an asymmetric physical relationship between women and men—who gener-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ally have greater upper body strength. Guns, however, can be "the great equalizer," as one of the Patriettes trainers emphasizes during classes.

The sponsors hope to expand the Patriettes program nationwide. One goal is to increase awareness of the suicidal foolishness of gun bans in high-crime cities like St. Louis and Miami, and to encourage law-abiding citizens, especially women, to demand the right to carry concealed weapons.

Leah Heisig, the Patrick Henry Center's director of communications, explains that "We want to create the perception for criminals that more and more women may be armed.... They can't assume women are easy targets any more." One Patriettes graduate, Lisa de Pasquale, has started a company, Heat Bags, Inc., which specializes in creating stylish purses and gym bags that can hold legally concealed weapons. De Pasquale hopes that one day the Heat Bag logo will become well enough known among criminals that it will actually serve as a deterrent.

A few other groups with an interest in self-defense have embraced legal gun ownership. Jews for the Preservation of Firearms encourages Jews to defend and exercise their gun rights, given their history of persecution. Could "Pick on someone your own caliber" become tomorrow's best answer to crime?

—*TAE intern* **Rachel Jurado** *is a student at George Washington University.*

ANOTHER GREEN SCARE

The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency scared the wits out of parents when it announced that it would ban residential use—in decks, playground equipment, picnic tables—of wood treated with chromated copper arsenate (CCA), the standard wood preservative since the 1940s. An EPA spokesman said his agency's risk assessment took into consideration the allegation of an environmental advocacy organization called the Environmental Working Group that touching wooden swing sets regularly could cause one out of 500 children to develop lung or bladder cancer.

Florida's Department of Health appointed a group of physicians to conduct "an extensive review of medical literature" on the subject. Their finding after one year of investigation: The amount of arsenic that can be absorbed from treated wood "is not significant compared to natural sources, and will not result in detectable arsenic intake...and does not appear sufficient to adversely affect the health of children or adults." The chief epidemiologist at the Florida Department of Health was among the six prominent doctors who made up the Physicians Arsenic Work Group.

Nonetheless, parents and cities fretting over the charges of Green activists and news reports on the "poison in your backyard" have quarantined playgrounds and ripped out equipment made with treated wood. Activists have claimed the dismantled wood should even be segregated in special hazardous waste landfills. The EPA announced there was no need for such removals, or for keeping treated wood out of regular landfills.

Sending a mixed signal, an EPA spokesman noted that while the agency had laid down an edict against any future residential uses of CCA-treated wood, "We're still involved in a risk assessment, and it's nowhere near complete."

So, is it the green light, or red, for CCA?

—**Tait Trussell** *is a* TAE *contributing writer.*

IN MEMORIAM: JOHN RAWLS

Conservatives the world over can breathe a little easier: On November 24, at age 81, Harvard philosopher John Rawls ran out of primary goods.

If you chuckled knowingly at the above reference, you are deserving of pity, for at some time you have muddled through one of the world's most infamously dry works of philosophy. Yet even if you never laid eyes on Rawls' 1971 *A Theory of Justice*, you have experienced its effects, for you have heard its tenets parroted in Congress and felt them in the lightness of your wallet. While Rawls' intellectual prowess was undeniable, he beats out even the likes of Richard Rorty for the dubious honor of having wrought the most pernicious influence on the past half-century of American political discourse.

Rawls' career began well enough, launched by his 1951 "Outline of a Decision Procedure for Ethics," in which he enumerated a variety of characteristics the ideal judge of moral questions would possess. Since a person exhibiting those characteristics is most likely to judge rightly in individual cases, the moral principles that best fit that individual's judgments also stand a good chance of being right. Rawls suggested that once these judgments and principles are adjusted and combined into a coherent system, the resulting "reflective equilibrium" will be a reasonably good approximation of the moral code that governs us.

MORE GOOD NEWS

The U.S. abortion rate has fallen 11 percent over the last six years, the Alan Guttmacher Institute recently reported. The drop was sharpest among the youngest women—down a startling 39 percent for teenagers 15-17.

This is not just a matter of more girls and women carrying their babies to term. Births and sexual activity are also down among young adults. A new respect for sexual abstinence and fear of sexually transmitted disease are credited with reducing teen experimentation with sex.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WASHINGTON INTERNSHIPS

Are you a reliable student interested in journalism, politics, and public policy?

The American Enterprise magazine is offering full- and part-time Washington internships. Positions are unpaid, but provide a chance to be part of a team doing exciting work. Positions mix administrative, research, writing, and business tasks.

Send résumés and writing samples to Eli Lehrer, at elehrer@aei.org, or The American Enterprise, 1150 Seventeenth Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, or fax (202) 862-5867.

Such a procedure, while not uncontroversial, is certainly plausible, but somewhere in the two decades leading to *A Theory of Justice*, Rawls made three serious mistakes. First, he held that this decision procedure *constitutes* moral truth. Not only does Rawls' ideal judge reliably *observe* moral truth, but moral principles are true precisely *because* the judge selects them as correct. Second, he conflated what is right with what is prudent for certain idealized persons. Rawls equated justice with "fairness"—the procedure a group of self-interested individuals would agree on for distributing the world's resources, regardless of any objective moral principles demanding otherwise. Finally he "collectivized" these individuals' most personal attributes, holding that characteristics such as the desire to work are "morally arbitrary" products of genetic or cultural chance that may be redistributed if prudence demands it. Rawls' fallacious assumptions are reflected in almost every neo-leftist refrain, be it economic redistribution that flies in the face of property rights or huge settlements to lung cancer patients who lacked the willpower to quit smoking.

Even after theorists such as Michael Sandel showed Rawls the error of his ways, he was unrepentant. Rather than revisiting the roots of his "ideal observer" theory, he kept its egalitarian result while abandoning its flawed underpinnings, labeling his new order "political not metaphysical." Simply put, his new justification was that egalitarianism keeps the most people happy and alienates as few people as possible, giving everyone an incentive to take part in society. As for those people whose devotion to morality outweighs the benefits provided by political cooperation: too bad.

Yet the results of Rawls' writing have not been entirely negative. As harmful as the effects of his philosophy have been, the marketplace of ideas has made some good of his work by contributing to the revival of libertarian and communitarian thought. We may thank Rawls for this, if for nothing else. *In pace requiescat.*

—**Ned Andrews** *is a senior philosophy major at Yale University.*

FIRST THINGS FIRST

Evidence continues to gather that many mothers of young children are embracing motherhood and putting their careers second. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, a majority of women with children under age six work part time or not at all. The Census Bureau reported that in 2000, only 34 percent of mothers with infants worked full time and 50 percent weren't employed at all.

Mothers who *are* employed are relegating hired day care to their last choice. Only one fifth of children under age five with a working mother are placed in a day care facility or preschool. The largest portion of preschoolers with working moms—nearly half—are cared for by their father, grandparents, or other relatives during mom's working hours, according to the Census Bureau's latest report.

Mothers of young children have seen through feminist rhetoric promising that careers would be more fulfilling than motherhood. They seem to be listening to their natural maternal desires again, and putting their families first.

—**Bridget Maher** *is a marriage and family policy analyst at the Family Research Council.*

DON'T KNOW MUCH ABOUT HISTORY

America's public education system is famously underwhelming. At the American Enterprise Institute, a panel moderated by AEI senior fellow Lynne Cheney recently paid special attention to the teaching of U.S. history in America's classrooms. Four panelists agreed that a lack of high standards among teachers as well as students is a serious problem today. But where to lay the blame?

"There is a paradox today in teaching American history," argued Peter Gibbon of Harvard University, "with an abundance of Web sites and glossy textbooks on the one hand, and an ignorance of basic facts on the other." Factors outside school, including "the youth culture that makes history and authority suspect" hurt history education, he argued. "Students spend more time with media than with teachers"; they are "raised in a visual culture" which results in "shrinking vocabularies, shorter attention spans, and less efficient reading skills." And "students who are exposed to an entertainment-celebrity culture find history boring," Gibbon claimed.

He also warned that modern textbooks present "a revisionist history" that makes students "ashamed of their past and pessimistic about their future. It implies that we are superior to our ancestors, and encourages attitudes of ingratitude and self-righteousness."

Current teaching of American history focuses on the dark side of American history at the expense of the good, which

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

leaves "young people to conclude that the world is a hopeless place." Presented as the "new realism," this dark side is promoted "not only by professional historians, but by museum curators, TV producers, and movie directors." Gibbon's sobering conclusion: Today's culture projects onto America's past a cynical view that is "hostile to greatness."

NEWFOUND RESPECT?

Somehow in recent years, Christianity seems to have gained a little fresh respect from the mass media. Nicholas Kristof pointed out in the *New York Times* this spring how evangelical Christians have scored laudable recent legislative victories against sex trafficking, religious persecution in places like North Korea, and AIDS in Africa. Outlets ranging from the *Wall Street Journal* to *National Journal* have finally noticed that, far from being anti-Semites, religious conservatives are, for theological reasons, the most unwavering supporters of Israel in America today.

Meanwhile, the large "parallel universe" of openly Christian activism continues to grow. Christian thinkers like Michael Novak, Os Guinness, Father Richard John Neuhaus, and Ravi Zacharias command wide respect. On talk radio, 7.5 million listeners tune in to James Dobson's daily "Focus on the Family" broadcasts. Janet Parshall reaches 3.5 million listeners five days a week. Commentaries by religious columnists Charles Colson and Cal Thomas are also popular. The *Left Behind* novels of Tim LaHaye and Jerry Jenkins have now sold more than 35 million copies, consistently topping the *New York Times* bestseller list.

Of course, elites still often come down hard on Christians when they actually state and practice what they believe. A *Washington Post* piece by religion-basher Barry Lynn of Americans United for Separation of Church and State roundly criticized House Whip Tom DeLay for calling Christianity true earlier this year. Franklin Graham has caught flak for similar statements.

But on the whole, a new measure of tolerance for religion in the public arena seems to be aborning in America.

—**James Edwards** *is an adjunct fellow with the Hudson Institute.*

PUPPY LOVE—IT'S REAL

The Republicans' victory in the November elections had a lot to do with a certain inarticulate, but gutsy, little fellow who resides in the White House. Not the President, mind you, but rather his faithful dog Barney: the Scottish terrier who keeps things humming along smoothly in the current administration.

Barney was originally a gift from the President to his wife, but it seems he has now made his way into the hearts of everyone in the family and the White House. "Barney's got a lot of friends," the First Lady explains of the favored pooch. She says that Barney's routine consists of a daily trek, with fellow Bush canine Spot, to pick up treats in offices from the West Wing to the East.

Most interesting is that Barney is important in the eyes of the Commander in Chief. On the night of September 11, when the First Couple had a security scare and was forced to retire downstairs to a bunker, they took faithful Barney with them. When Barney was due to attend a Kinky Friedman animal-rescue fundraiser (please don't ask), Laura had to send a double in his place because the President wanted the little furry guy home to greet him when he returned from Europe.

This is all quite a contrast to the previous President, Bill Clinton, who had two pets, Socks the cat and Buddy the dog. Socks was ignored once Buddy came on the scene, and he was used mostly for photo-ops. After the Clintons left office, they cast off Socks to another household, and poor Buddy got hit by a car under the watch of non-interested Secret Service personnel. The latest in the long line of untimely Clinton-related deaths.

George and Laura Bush, on the other hand, pamper Barney because they love him: Barney grew up sleeping at Laura's feet, and the President starts his day by taking the two dogs out for a walk on the South Lawn. Bush is often seen leaving Air Force One with Barney under one arm. He laughs good naturedly at Barney's occasional transgressions, and is not about to give Barney up for adoption when he's frustrated. Barney is far more than just a prop. George and Laura Bush don't keep Barney around to score points with voters or the media. The polls don't show that Scottish terriers garner votes.

And it's that genuineness that Americans have come to recognize and appreciate in George W. Bush. It's his guileless devotion to a naughty little canine fur ball that had to be banned from the Oval Office for fear he would soil the carpet that makes Bush such an appealing leader. He is more than a good leader. He is a good man.

—**Marni Soupcoff**'s *column appears each Friday at TAEmag.com.*

PLEASE WRITE

We welcome comments of all sorts in letters to the editor. Send to "The Mail," The American Enterprise, 1150 Seventeenth Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Or fax to (202) 862-5867. Or e-mail to TAE@aei.org. Please include address and phone number for verification. Published letters may be edited for length and clarity.

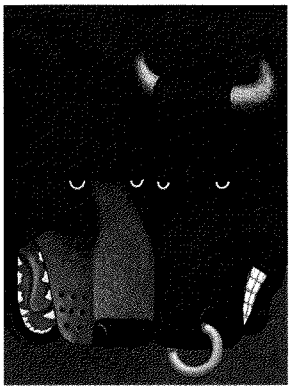
All letters receive our careful consideration, and many will be published (unless you tell us your comments are not for attribution).

We look forward to hearing from you.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Forward Observer

James Glassman



Two Dead Economists

As I write, the U.S. economy has grown 3 percent over the past 12 months (average for the post-World War II period), unemployment is 5.7 percent (also average), and inflation is 1.5 percent (well below average). Those are pretty good numbers. Yet something is clearly wrong. There's no oomph to the economy. Businesses aren't investing in new machines, plants, and technology; consumers and investors are listless. What's going on? Two dead economists can provide some insight.

The first is Frederic Bastiat (1801-1850), whose big idea was this: "In the economic sphere, an act, a habit, an institution, a law produces not only one effect, but a series of effects." Usually, one effect is seen, the others are unseen.

Bastiat's famous example involved a broken window: a kid breaks his father's window. Dad pays a glazier six francs to repair it. The glazier gets six francs in income. Thus, more economic activity! Not so fast. That's the "seen" part. The "unseen" part is that Dad would have used the six francs to buy new shoes, so the shoemaker is deprived of the money. We can call it a wash. But it's worse. If the accident hadn't happened, the Dad "would have spent six francs for new shoes and would have had the enjoyment of a pair of shoes as well as of a window." The "unseen" can be important too.

Now, consider the corporate scandals that broke about a year ago, and the legislative remedies that were enacted last summer. What's "seen" is a new corporate-accounting oversight board, new criminal penalties for misleading investors, and various changes in securities law that are all meant to increase the confidence of investors. What's "unseen" is the effects these reforms have had on corporations: first, the extra costs of complying with the new rules and, second, a more profound unseen effect, for which we need to turn to the second dead economist.

He is John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946), probably the most influential policy intellectual of the twentieth century. Lord Keynes got many things wrong, but one of the things he got right was the intriguing concept of "animal spirits." He wrote:

> Most...of our decisions to do something positive, the full consequences of which will be drawn out over many days to come, can only be taken as the result of animal spirits —a spontaneous urge to action rather than inaction, and not as the outcome of a weighted average of quantitative benefits multiplied by quantitative probabilities.

Animal spirits comprise the forces that impel people to take risks that might not make sense mathematically but that end up benefiting the economy and society enormously. One of the unseen consequences of the hysterical rush to pass new laws in the wake of corporate scandals is that the laws—not to mention the pervading atmosphere—have had a severely depressive effect on animal spirits. The effects on the economy are bad, and may get worse. Here is an example of what I mean by "pervading atmosphere": A series of front-page articles in the *Washington Post* in mid November, whose purpose was to set readers straight about "the new economy," claimed it "wasn't all real, and...certainly wasn't enduring," as wrote Steven Pearlstein, author of the initial piece.

Other articles went after investment bankers, venture capitalists, and the Nasdaq stock market, which was called a "casino" because it "encouraged and enabled thousands of small, highly risky companies to list their shares." In fact, the economic growth that occurred in the 1990s was as real as economic growth ever gets. It was a period of stability (GDP annually fluctuated within a remarkably narrow band of around 4 percent), powerful employment growth, low inflation, and spreading prosperity. Yes, many companies went broke: That's the way it's supposed to work in a robust capitalist economy.

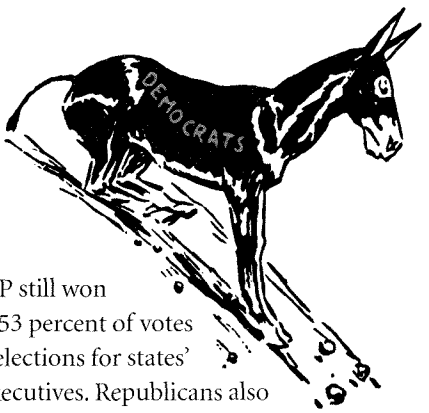
Some scolding has good effects: greater candor by corporate executives and more discrimination by investors. But scolding has unseen effects, too, and they are powerful. Throughout the economy, animal spirits have gone into hibernation, and the economy is now dominated by an establishment without the inclination, or the need, to take risks.

My guess, as an eternal optimist, is that this miserable situation will change. Americans don't like sitting on their hands. Keynes, while a Brit, described very well the desire to plunge into the unknown future, whatever it takes. "It is our innate urge to activity," he wrote, "that makes the wheel go around."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Grover Norquist

Lessons of the Fall



Democrats had hoped that a traditional out-of-power party pickup in the House and Senate would translate into a national political message that Social Security is once again untouchable, prescription drugs are a silver bullet, and Americans have overcome their inordinate fear of taxes and gun control.

The lessons learned flowed in the other direction.

First, Social Security privatization proposals are not the proverbial third rail of American politics. When Governor George W. Bush embraced the idea of allowing younger Americans to put some of their Social Security taxes into personal savings accounts, Democrats hoped that he had committed political suicide. His win in November 2000 proved that the issue was open to discussion, but many believed that while it had proved safe for Bush to talk about, it would continue to be a dangerous issue for Republican Congressional candidates. Democrats spent millions attacking GOP candidates on this issue; some Republicans did back off. Others, like incoming senators Elizabeth Dole of North Carolina and Norm Coleman of Minnesota, found they could run effectively on Social Security reform rather than cringe before accusations that they wanted to gut the popular program. The Democrats will try to use the issue again in 2004 and, should they fail, real reform can commence.

Second, taxes remain the most powerful issue benefiting Republicans and hurting Democrats. Tax-hiking governors were defeated—every single new Republican in the House and Senate signed the Americans for Tax Reform pledge not to raise taxes. In Massachusetts, a Libertarian Party-inspired initiative to abolish the state's income tax received 45 percent of the vote. In Northern Virginia, the entire political establishment from Democratic Governor Mark Warner to Republican Senator John Warner endorsed a referendum to raise the sales tax by one half cent to pay for new roads; it still lost by a 10 percent margin.

Third, the Democrats remain unable to refrain from talking about gun control. Like dogs drawn to their own vomit, Democrats, who had prided themselves on their ability to shut up about guns, found themselves attacking gun owners in the wake of the Washington-area sniper killings. While Bill Clinton had always insisted that he would never touch anyone's hunting rifles—he only wanted "reasonable" regulation of handguns—Democrats decided to threaten owners of hunting rifles two weeks before the elections. This probably increased the Republican vote in rural Maryland enough to elect Bob Ehrlich, the first Republican to lead the traditional Democratic stronghold since Spiro Agnew won the governor's mansion in 1966.

Fourth, this is not a 49 percent nation with both parties evenly balanced. Republicans now hold the upper hand. Republican candidates for the House of Representatives won over 53 percent of the two-party vote while Democrats took about 46 percent. In the 34 senatorial elections, Republicans won over 52 percent of the vote. And even while it suffered a net loss of two governors' mansions—the GOP still won almost 53 percent of votes cast in elections for states' chief executives. Republicans also gainedover 120 state legislative seats and now hold a majority of all seats in state legislatures. The GOP has complete control of both houses in 22 states while the Democrats hold both houses in only 17 states; 10 states have divided control. (Nebraska's unicameral legislature is officially non-partisan but Republicans hold *de facto* control.) In other words, the new Republican majority is both broad—and deep.

Fifth, the Democrats' greatest failure was the inability to communicate with the growing investor class of Americans who own stock. When President Bush was elected, the Dow Jones Industrial Average stood at 10,952. On Election Day 2002, it was 8,678. Americans lost $7 trillion; they rewarded the party in power nonetheless. Why? Because the Democrats couldn't plausibly explain how Bush caused this loss of wealth or how they would raise the value of investors' 401(k)s and IRAs. Voters did know that the traditional Democrat attitude toward the Fortune 500 is to tax, regulate, and attack.

Sixth, Republicans have a political leader in George W. Bush. Democrats have...well...Bill Clinton?

Issueless. Leaderless. A shrinking minority. This is no way for the Democrats to head into 2004.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Live" with TAE

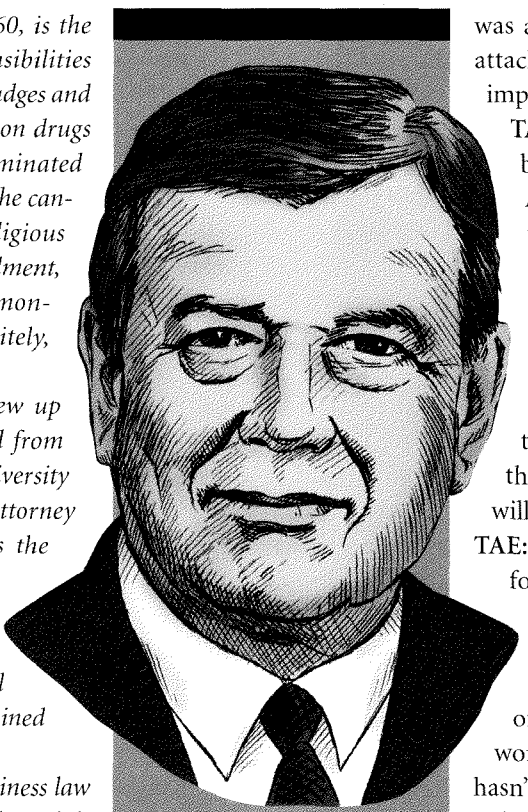
The leading conservative in the Cabinet of President Bush is that rarest of breeds in our nation's capital: a political figure of firm principle.

John Ashcroft

U.S. Attorney General John Ashcroft, 60, is the nation's chief law enforcer, with responsibilities ranging from advising the President on judges and Constitutional law to fighting the wars on drugs and terror. When George W. Bush nominated Ashcroft to run the Justice Department, the candidate was attacked for his devout religious beliefs, his support for the Second Amendment, his opposition to abortion, and his demonstrated willingness to tangle, albeit politely, with the Left.

Born in Chicago, John Ashcroft grew up in Springfield, Missouri. He graduated from Yale, received a law degree from the University of Chicago, and became Missouri's attorney general nine years later. He served as the state's governor between 1984 and 1993, then was elected to the U.S. Senate. Ashcroft suffered a narrow defeat for re-election in 2000 after his opponent Mel Carnahan died in a plane crash, yet remained on the ballot.

With his wife Jean, a professor of business law at Howard University, Mr. Ashcroft has three children. He was interviewed by attorney Susanna Dokupil and TAE *senior editor Eli Lehrer in his cozy wood-paneled office at Justice Department headquarters in Washington, D.C.*



Real leadership lays out noble objectives and then pursues those objectives with such intensity that other people are drawn into the pursuit.

TAE: In your opinion, have the terrorist attacks of September 11 brought moral values to the forefront of American public life?

ASHCROFT: I think the attack, in all its tragedy, has reacquainted us with how fragile freedom can be. It's those who hate liberty who made the attack, and so I think it's given us a deep appreciation for what we have in the United States; for our distinctive national values. I don't think it's changed our values so much as caused us all to develop a sense of sobriety and think about what we really stand for. Make no mistake: It was an attack on our national principles. An attack like this leads us to understand how important our morality is.

TAE: Should the individual right to keep and bear arms be part of the war on terror?

ASHCROFT: I took an oath to defend the Constitution and the laws of the United States. I believe that the overwhelming scholarship devoted to the Constitution understands the Second Amendment to include an individual right to arm oneself lawfully. When I took this job, when I went before the committee, they asked me if I would uphold the law. I will, I shall, I do, I must.

TAE: We've seen an upsurge in support for Israel among members of the Republican Party. Why is Israel important to conservatives?

ASHCROFT: Israel has been an example of freedom and democracy in a part of the world that has not had enough of that. Israel hasn't only been allied with us in terms of our political interests, but has been allied with us in a set of values upholding human dignity, freedom, opportunity, responsibility, humane values. All of these things bind us together.

TAE: You have stated publicly that you admire Thomas West for his book *Vindicating the Founders*, which attempts to debunk criticisms that America's Founding Fathers were racists. Which of our country's great historical figures do you admire most?

ASHCROFT: Well, the number one person I admire is Abraham Lincoln. I think the function of leadership is to redefine what's "possible." Real leadership lays out noble objectives and then pursues those objectives with such intensity that other people are drawn into the pursuit. Real leadership, by seeking out the noble

Illustration by Sam Torode

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rather than just what's practical, changes the definition of the practical—of the possible.

Lincoln eventually came to pursue the most noble of all ideas: that people should no longer be enslaved. A profound idea that was quite unfamiliar through most of human existence. And he pursued it with such sacrificial intensity that others were drawn into the process. And so that which had been impossible, or at least impractical, became a reality. That's the function of real leadership, and perhaps more than any other political leader I know of, Abraham Lincoln achieved it.

Now, Ronald Reagan redefined the possible in his relationship with the Soviet Union. When he said "tear down this wall," many people laughed. They said, "That's impossible. The Soviet Union is a great and powerful force!" But Reagan approached the noble idea of liberating hundreds of millions of people, and he pursued it with such intensity and persistence that it became a reality. He redefined the possible just like Lincoln had. It's something that needs to be done again and again.

TAE: Why do you think the Civil War period continues to inspire so much fascination among Americans?

ASHCROFT: Whether people should be slaves or free is probably the most critical issue ever discussed or debated in America. And a lot of Americans feel a connection to the Civil War like no other war because their communities and their families were deeply involved in the battles.

I just returned from Europe, where I visited the battlefields at Waterloo. There they have great re-enactments much like ours of the Civil War. So maybe it's just part and parcel of human existence to associate oneself with grand historic events, and to be fascinated with historical moments when the tide turns and powerful changes follow.

God intends for people to be free. They're created to be free to make choices, and free to live with those choices. Whenever freedom comes into conflict I think this will be a magnet to draw the attention of humanity.

TAE: You've been fairly open about your faith. What role should religion play in public life?

ASHCROFT: First of all, it's against my religion to impose my religion. I believe that religion is a matter of individual choice, so it's not up to government figures to force their views on anyone. As a matter of fact, theologically, I reject the concept that religion *can* be imposed. My understanding of God is that God doesn't press Himself on people.

Some people have the confused idea that if you don't have to face any consequences you're really free. But where you don't face consequences, where your actions don't make a difference, that's not freedom. That's meaninglessness.

The job of government is primarily the job of imposing. It operates by mandates and orders. But the law only defines the lowest responsibilities you have in society. I believe the job of every citizen is to live above the bare minimums of the law.

Every citizen should live at the highest level possible, and I think good citizenship is always an inspiration to others. No culture ever achieves greatness by everybody just barely making it by the law. Cultures achieve greatness when people pursue their highest and best aspirations. The law is the specification of the low threshold, the bare minimum of acceptable behavior. We say as a society, "you've got to do these things or go to jail." But we need lots of citizens to operate far above the law, in an inspirational category of highest and best behaviors. That's what religion can encourage.

TAE: Andrew Tobias, the treasurer of the Democratic National Committee, has gotten much Internet mileage out of a claim that you believe calico cats are a sign of the devil. Any idea how this rumor got started?

ASHCROFT: Absolutely none. All I can think of is the poem by Eugene Field about a duel between a gingham dog and calico cat. In any case, there's no truth to it. I *owned* a calico cat—on the farm I lived on until I went away to be the state auditor of Missouri.

TAE: What policies would you most like to be remembered for, and what changes would you most like to make during your tenure as the nation's top law enforcement official?

ASHCROFT: Anything we do should reinforce the kind of thing that allows human beings to make choices in a context of responsibility to themselves and their nation. Some people have the confused idea that if you don't have to face any consequences you're really free. But where you don't face consequences, where your actions don't make a difference, that's not freedom. That's meaninglessness.

I like people to be able to make meaningful choices. It's what gives us dignity and what gives

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

us impact. It's what gives us a reason to live, and to work hard, and to be responsible. That's where my aspirations lie.

TAE: Democrats on the Senate Judiciary Committee have blocked President Bush's federal judicial nominees from confirmation, which will be much harder to do thanks to the November elections. But what steps in general can an administration take to help blocked individuals get a hearing and a vote in the Senate?

ASHCROFT: An administration should just help the American people understand that a serious crisis in the administration of justice, which we face, impairs the ability of America to stand as a culture exemplifying the rule of law. Right now we have a 15 percent vacancy rate on the Court of Appeals. We have 30 judicial vacancies that the Chief Justice of our Supreme Court categorizes as emergencies. We cannot disable the judiciary of the United States of America without impairing the rule of law. And absent the rule of law we are a culture which is far less than it ought to be.

Americans need to energize the Senate to confirm highly qualified nominated judges if they are blocked. This administration has picked high quality judges who get the very strongest ratings, and we have done it with a promptness that exceeds almost all other administrations. The foot dragging in this important process has been in the Senate.

TAE: We've heard that you're a fan of the television show "The Simpsons." What do you like about it?

ASHCROFT: So many of the foibles of "The Simpsons" are projections of what happens in my life, and in our family. I see both the humor and the tragedy in everyday existences in the lives of Homer, Lisa, and Bart. Marge may be my favorite character. She is so pure in her life, she tolerates the nonsense and just stays right in there.

Ned Flanders is another character I like. He seems naive, but keeps chugging on with his positive approach to life. Instead of being victimized by all of Homer's schemes and abuses, he ends up doing well, which confounds Homer. What's interesting to me about "The Simpsons" is that it's about people of pure motive and perseverance who keep plowing ahead in spite of the lunacy that surrounds them.

What's interesting to me about "The Simpsons" is that it's about people of pure motive and perseverance who keep plowing ahead in spite of the lunacy that surrounds them.

TAE: While you were on Capitol Hill, you were a member of the "Singing Senators," and you've continued a strong interest in music. What instruments do you play, and what role does music have in life?

ASHCROFT: I play the piano almost every day, because it's a way to express ideas and to experiment. I also play the guitar a little bit, and the mandolin a little bit. Music, as I see it, is the study of relationships—tonal relationships—and in all of life, nothing is more important than relationships.

Music is a way in which tension is established and then resolved, and thus kind of a metaphor for life. There are progressions from one chord to the next. Melodies are ways of going on excursions, and then coming back home. Things happen and change.

The other thing I like about music is that it highlights the importance of unity, but *not* uniformity. Uniformity in music would mean repetition of the same tone or pitch, and it would be terribly monotonous. Music is a way that disparity, and difference, can be made a source of great beauty.

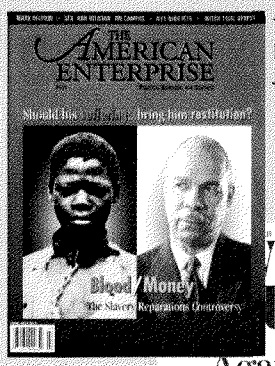
One time when I was governor of Missouri I was traveling in Japan, trying to attract business to the state. And it happened that the St. Louis Symphony was playing in Tokyo. I took some Japanese industrialists to the concert and explained my theory of music to them. One eventually established a large factory in Missouri, and I'm sure it was based on this!

I reminded them that none of the people in the orchestra were the same. They were different individuals playing different notes on different instruments. That sounded like a recipe for chaos. But those men and women played those different notes from different instruments in relationship to each other. They had good leadership, and a common objective. So instead of creating uniformity, which would have been boring, they had unity. Which was spectacularly successful.

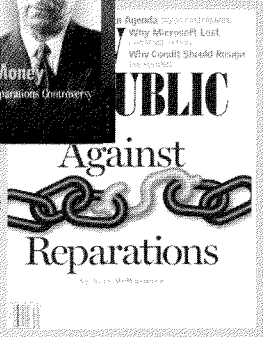
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Read it Fresh!

(Or Read it Warmed Over)

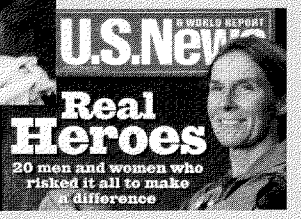


The American Enterprise
July 10, 2001



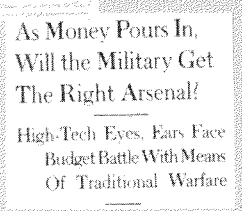
New Republic
July 23, 2001

The American Enterprise
September 2000

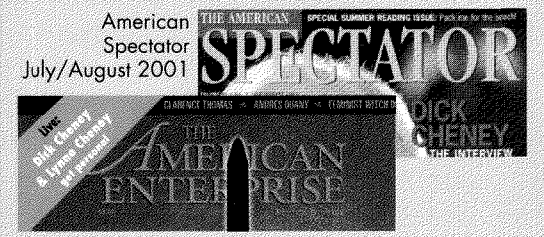


U.S. News
August 2001

The American Enterprise
Sept. 9, 2001

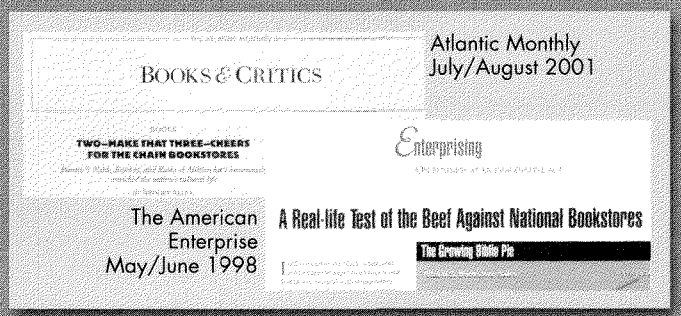


Wall Street Journal
Sept. 19, 2001



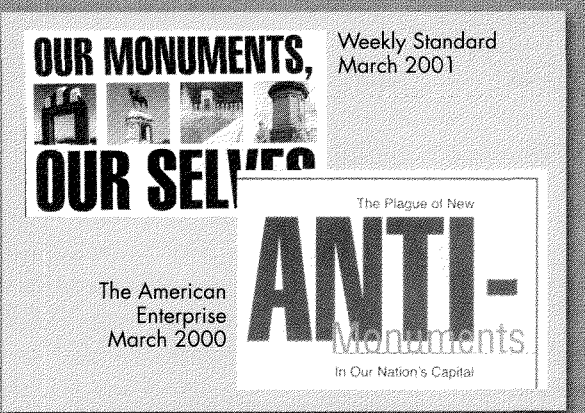
American Spectator
July/August 2001

The American Enterprise
April/May 2001



Atlantic Monthly
July/August 2001

The American Enterprise
May/June 1998



Weekly Standard
March 2001

The American Enterprise
March 2000

At *The American Enterprise* we're cooking up the nation's best journalism on politics, business, and culture—often before the competition even get their burners lit.

So grab a helping of spicy reporting and opinion. Because there's nothing worse than stale news.

Subscribe now: 1-888-295-9007 or www.TAEmag.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

No Compromises: Why We're Going to Lose the War on Terror ...and How We Could Win

By Karina Rollins

After 19 terrorists hijacked commercial airplanes, crashed them into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, and killed over 3,000 Americans, the U.S. government sprang into action: The director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation held a friendly meeting with an American Muslim group with known ties to terrorists. The State Department printed up thousands of copies of a poster series, "Mosques of America," and sponsored an imam-exchange program. None of which attracted any criticism from the attorney general or the President; all of which would be amusing if it were a sketch on "Saturday Night Live."

The nation's new and improved airport security is a joke; all the stories about little blue-haired ladies' shoes searched for explosives are true. Americans know the hassle and make-work and plastic forks don't add to their safety. One of the biggest laugh lines of Washington, D.C.'s political comedy troupe, The Capitol Steps, comes at the beginning of a skit about airport security. A man in a giant turban walks on stage and hangs a big sign that reads simply, "O'Hare Security." It brings down the house.

Former senators Warren Rudman and Gary Hart, co-chairmen of the Commission on National Security in the 21st Century, concluded that "A year after 9/11, America remains dangerously unprepared to prevent and respond to a catastrophic terrorist attack on U.S. soil." Rudman and Hart lament that enormous amounts of money are spent on airports, while port and cargo security take a back seat; that police, firemen, and emergency medical workers still can't communicate well with each other or their counterparts in nearby cities; that public health facilities are unprepared for a biological or chemical attack; that local police work in an intelligence vacuum and don't have access to terrorist watch lists; and that there has been no national debate about how to protect factories and power plants. Cyberspace is still glaringly unprotected as well.

The Homeland Security bill has now, after many distractions, finally been passed. It will be the job of the new department to close the gaping security holes, and it will surely be successful in implementing some effective safety mechanisms. But it could take years for the department to become operational. Besides, addressing such practical matters is only half the solution; there is an entire worldview in Washington that must change drastically.

The administration publicly characterizes al-Qaeda and its sympathizers as a group of criminals, ignoring the religious nature of their plans to destroy the West. If the government—and the American people—are to win the war on terror, both must understand that our enemies have succeeded in launching a holy war—a war that will most certainly last beyond the lifetime of anyone reading these pages.

Karina Rollins is a TAE *senior editor.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

More than a year after 9/11, too many clear and present dangers continue to loom over Americans. Following are prescriptions to address some of the biggest problems:

Return to common sense and purge political correctness.

Transportation Secretary Norman Mineta frets that being more suspicious of Arab males than 12-year-old girls will lead to World War II-style internment camps for Muslims. When asked several months ago on "60 Minutes" if elderly white women and young Muslim men should be treated the same at the airport security gate, he answered "Basically, I would hope so." The President praises Mr. Mineta for outstanding performance.

As William Lind of the Free Congress Foundation realizes, "The same government that wants to invade Iraq is too intimidated by political correctness to provide homeland security by profiling terrorists. The government's feeble efforts to protect our own perimeter spread fear and erode loyalties by telling patriotic citizens that their own government does not or cannot differentiate between patriots and terrorists." In a small bit of encouraging news, the government has announced plans to fingerprint and photograph men who are citizens of countries on an adjustable terror watch list. No, racial profiling isn't the answer. But terrorist profiling is. And that means being wary of young Arab-looking men. It's reality.

Eliminate terrorist training camps—for real.

The United States "should immediately tell all nations that have terrorist training camps on their territory that they should get rid of them," declares Cliff May, president of the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies. "We should tell these countries we would like them to take care of the camps on their own. If they don't, we should tell them: 'We are going to violate your sovereignty to eliminate them if you do not.' We should give them a limited amount of time. If they don't comply, we should have contingency plans to eliminate the camps through bombing or commando raids.

"There is a lot of talk about the recruitment of terrorists, but you can't become a terrorist unless you're trained to be one. You need training to become a sniper or a suicide bomber. You have to go someplace where they teach you. It is vital that there be no such places in the world within the next six months."

Give security clearances to local police and plan statewide responses.

"What's important is trust and inclusion," says Edward Davis, police superintendent of Lowell, Massachusetts. "That only happens through face-to-face contact. It's important that local police have security clearances. I have one and it makes me feel like I'm in the game. The joint task forces are working pretty well here in Massachusetts.

"And there has to be more discussion of regional responses to incidents. Jurisdictional issues have to be ironed out. There should be response scenarios that are clear, that can be trained, and that take care of the communications and coordination problems that can happen. If I had 1,000 police officers here tomorrow, I wouldn't really know how to coordinate them. You need a plan in advance. Not a complicated one, but a plan nonetheless. We need to do a better job planning for responses on a statewide level."

Issue national I.D. cards.

National I.D. cards are a scary thought for many Americans, conjuring up images of Big Brother and George Orwell's dystopia. Enough with the hysteria already. "Like it or not," points out my colleague Eli Lehrer, who founded the Heritage Foundation's Excellence in Policing Project and has written extensively about national identity cards, "Americans already have national I.D. cards. When they travel overseas, open a bank account, start a new job, or buy a gun, U.S. citizens need to provide state-issued identification. A citizen who gets stopped by the police and can't produce a drivers' license, passport, or Social Security card will often have to spend the night in jail." It's hard to argue that this constitutes government power run amok.

A national I.D. card, far from robbing Americans of freedom or privacy, would simply make it much easier for police to tell the majority of law-abiding people from the small proportion of criminals and terrorists in our midst who are capable of doing real harm. It would make us safer—and *that* makes us freer.

Stop pretending that Saudi Arabia is our friend.

As former assistant secretary of defense Frank Gaffney, Jr., now president of the Center for Security Policy, explains: "Saudi Arabia's alignment with America's enemies extends far beyond the anti-U.S. and anti-Western propaganda that is also ceaselessly disseminated by the kingdom's government-run media. For some fifty years, Saudi officials, royal family, and what passes for private sector institutions have been expending untold sums to promote the state religion—a virulently intolerant strain of Islam known as Wahabism. Washington has long ignored the individual and cumulative effects of such spending on Wahabi proselytizing, recruiting, indoctrination, training, and equipping of adherents who embrace the sect's injunction to convert or kill infidels.

"In the wake of terrorism made possible—or at least abetted—at home and abroad by such Saudi-connected activities, the United States can no longer afford to turn a blind eye to this profoundly unfriendly behavior. That is particularly true insofar as there is reason to believe that Wahabi enterprises are giving rise to perhaps the most insidious enemy of all: an Islamist Fifth Column operating within this country."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

As of the printing of this issue, the White House continues to call the Saudis "good partners" in the war on terror.

Pray that the State Department doesn't destroy us.

The State Department is directly responsible for issuing visas to the 19 September 11 hijackers, almost all of which should have been flatly rejected. (See "Welcoming the Enemy" on page 34.) The consular officers who issued the visas each received bonuses of $10,000 to $15,000. The State Department's Visa Express program, which let Saudi citizens apply for visas at Saudi travel agencies and provided even fewer safeguards than the regular system, continued for almost a whole year *after* 9/11.

The Homeland Security Act includes stricter visa controls for Saudi citizens—but only by accident. If the State Department had had its way, those controls would have been wiped clear off the bill: State objected to the singling out of Saudi Arabia—the country from which came 15 of the 19 September 11 hijackers. Joel Mowbray, who first broke the visa scandal story in *National Review*, reports that the department was assured, incredibly, that the Saudi provision would be struck from the legislation. Only due to "the last-minute confusion and the rush to get the mammoth bill passed during the lame-duck session," he says, did the provision stay put.

Unfazed by even the most egregious breaches of security, Secretary of State Colin Powell continues to wax poetic: "From the mountains of Afghanistan to the valleys of Bosnia to the plains of Africa to the forests of Asia and around the world we are on the ground working with our Muslim partners to expand to the circle of peace, the circle of prosperity, the circle of freedom."

Secretary Powell also wants more of these "partners" on the ground right here in the U.S., pledging to expand programs to bring more Islamic political and religious leaders as well as journalists and teachers to America.

Get serious about border control and immigration .

The Immigration and Naturalization Service is guilty of the same reckless sloppiness in approving documents as the State Department. Of course, the INS is also understaffed and underfunded—something which could start to be fixed immediately (and should have been started on September 12, 2001). The administration seems to lack any real sense of urgency about the country's porous borders, and the lack of cooperation from our Mexican and, especially, Canadian neighbors.

"When it comes to immigration, the President's approach is guided by compassion and fairness," says Sharon Castillo, a spokesman for the Republican National Committee. No word on how fair it is to Americans who died at the hands of terrorists who could have been kept out of the country.

Recognize the threat posed by Muslim organizations, Islamic centers, and mosques in our midst.

Terror expert Steven Emerson founded The Investigative Project to collect data on militant Muslim groups in the U.S. In his book *American Jihad: The Terrorists Living Among Us*, he points to nine "terrorist support networks" based in America: Muslim Arab Youth Association, the American Islamic Group, Islamic Cultural Workshop, the Council on American-Islamic Relations, the American Muslim Council, Islamic Circle of North America, the Muslim Public Affairs Council, the American Muslim Alliance, and the Islamic Society of North America.

These groups, Emerson says, use "the laws, freedoms, and loopholes of the most liberal nation on earth to help finance and direct one of the most violent international terrorism groups in the world." "Operating in the freewheeling and tolerant environment of the United States, bin Laden was able to set up a whole array of 'cells' in a loosely organized network that included Tucson, Arizona; Brooklyn, New York; Orlando, Florida, Dallas, Texas; Santa Clara, California; Columbia, Missouri; and Herndon, Virginia."

Start pointing fingers.

No reform or security measure is going to mean very much if the people who egregiously violate the most basic rules, and those in charge of them, aren't held accountable, which in most cases means being fired. After 9/11, the administration and members of Congress bent over backwards to insist that no one was "finger pointing" or "seeking to lay blame." But accountability is precisely what's needed.

Minneapolis FBI special agent Coleen Rowley and her team did everything in their power to get authorization from FBI headquarters merely to search the computer of Zacarias Moussaoui, the so-called twentieth hijacker. They were stalled and denied at every turn, despite providing clear evidence for the necessity of the search. One supervisory special agent in particular was responsible for the travesty. FBI Director Robert Mueller's response when Rowley's memo made the front pages: announcing plans to hire more agents and buy new computers. Oh, and he promoted that supervisory agent.

Calling for Mueller's resignation back in May, the *Wall Street Journal* pointed out the obvious: "If Mueller had wanted to send a message to change the FBI mindset he would have fired the supervisory special agent who ignored the Minneapolis warnings on Moussaoui." To make matters worse, Mueller and Attorney General John Ashcroft did not inform the President of the debacle for seven months. As long as Robert Mueller is allowed to keep his job, the FBI's credibility is non-existent. The White House's response: praise all around.

So, how safe are we?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Encore presentation starts Dec. 19th Check local listings.

Think TANK

with

BEN WATTENBERG

Think Tank's series of cultural programs have included profiles of George Gershwin, John Philip Sousa, Duke Ellington, Norman Rockwell, and Frederick Hart. Our latest, a 2-part show on The Ragtime King, Irving Berlin, was warmly received by our viewers:

"Once again you have scored a mighty success with your programs about Irving Berlin. His body of work is a national treasure and a monument to his life. His music has brought me and millions (maybe billions) like me immeasurable pleasure."

"Congratulations and thank you for your show on the incomparable Irving Berlin! What wonderful insights concerning his basic insecurities about his work, his admiration for his contemporaries, and his enjoyment of Elvis Presley and the Beatles. Irving Berlin is to American Music as Abraham Lincoln is to the American Presidency!"

"Your two shows on Irving Berlin were indeed among the very best."

"I was disappointed that Think Tank was not longer. You could do a ten-part series on Mr. Berlin and still not do him justice."

"Your program of today about Irving Berlin's music was delightful. Thank you for your varied and always interesting topics and interviewees."

"Irving Berlin was, and will always be, a special hero of mine. So many memories you have touched. Thank you for reliving some emotional moments."

PBS **THINK TANK: THE PBS PROGRAM ON IDEAS**

Pfizer

Support for **THINK TANK** is provided by Pfizer Inc., the Smith Richardson Foundation, the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, the John M. Olin Foundation, and the Bernard & Irene Schwartz Foundation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Arlington County Fire Chief Edward Plaugher, left, listens as Arlington County Police Chief Edward Flynn, right, responds to questions about 9/11 at a press conference in Arlington, Va. Home to the Pentagon, Arlington National Cemetery, and many defense contractors, Arlington presents many tempting targets. Flynn has emerged as one of local police's most prominent spokesmen on how to fight the war on terror.

Prepared for Terror?

One local police agency readies itself for the worst.

By Eli Lehrer

One rainy Thursday this past November, as prison guards led a man the *Washington Post* called a "harbinger of terror" to the death chamber at Virginia's Greensville Correctional Center, the lights went out at Pentagon City mall in Arlington, Virginia. For about 30 seconds, total darkness enveloped the tiled floors and soaring palm trees of the mall just outside the nation's capital. Customers screamed. "It was chaos," recalls shopper Monica Burke. The emergency lights flickered on and mall-goers, who had started to stampede toward the exits, began to slow down.

As soon as a report of the blackout crackled over the police radio, Arlington County Police patrol sergeant Ken Dennis stepped on the gas. Fire trucks and several patrol cars had already arrived at the mall when he got there. Dennis, the patrol supervisor that evening, began sketching out a plan on a borrowed legal pad. Within three minutes of his arrival, Dennis, two Arlington police officers working in the mall, the mall manager, its security director, and the fire department's battalion commander met in the shopping center's entry way. Public safety officials all knew about that evening's execution of Mir Aimal Kasi, a Pakistani terrorist who had killed two CIA employees in a shooting spree outside the Agency's headquarters in 1993 and, for a few moments, one could sense the tension in the clipped conversation between the men. But they couldn't waste time speculating about the cause of the blackout. Police fanned out across the dark multi-level parking garage and security guards ran up and down the corridors. Not everything went smoothly—the police department didn't have a bullhorn to warn the crowd, and the door at one of the mall's emergency control rooms got stuck. Nonetheless, within a few minutes police and firemen had evacuated the mall and avoided public panic. As the last shoppers and storekeepers left the mall, Fire Battalion chief J. D. Smith announced some good news: Dominion Virginia Power had been working in the area and electricians had made a mistake. It would take several hours for the power to come back on but there was no serious problem. The mood lightened. The blackout had nothing to do with Kasi's execution. But how Arlington officials handled it does

AP Photo/ Linda Spillers

Eli Lehrer is a TAE *senior editor.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

give some insight into the strategies of an American municipality prepared to face terror without panic.

Arlington County, Virginia—population 189,000—is a good place to look for what America's police forces can do about fighting terrorism: how they've succeeded and where they could improve. (Arlington County, Washington, D.C.'s largest suburb, is an odd political animal—a self-governing urbanized county—for all intents and purposes it functions like a city.) Arlington has probably done more to prepare for terror attacks than any other city of its size, because it has had to: Al-Qaeda attacked the Pentagon in Arlington on September 11 and the county also had to brace for killings by the sniper who menaced the Washington area last October. While the white-gray ash that blanketed the area around the Pentagon on 9/11 has long since vanished and the Pentagon has been rebuilt and workers have returned, terrorism has touched Arlington's civic life. Police and military vehicles still keep a 24-hour vigil on an access road by the Pentagon, and fearsome-looking green vehicles patrolling the surrounding streets mix almost unnoticed with mall shoppers. It's no coincidence that the Police Executive Research Forum, the nation's single most influential organization of police chiefs, picked Arlington Chief of Police Edward Flynn to testify before Congress about the needs of local law enforcement in the wake of September 11.

"It's important to retain the balance between prudent preparation and free-floating anxiety. We still don't have an entirely clear sense of what we are planning for," says Flynn. "We're still just learning."

Why focus on a mid-sized local police agency? Simple: Agencies like the Arlington County Police Department are America's frontline defense against terror. They will respond directly to attacks and provide the first line of intelligence on plotters in our midst. On September 11, local agencies took the lead in the aftermath of the attacks and, when terrorists strike again, local police will again be the first to respond. When it comes to gathering intelligence about terrorists the federal government is spread far too thin: The New York City and Chicago police departments alone employ more people than the Coast Guard and FBI combined. No police department can defeat terrorists alone, but Arlington police demonstrates the strengths and weaknesses of post-9/11 police responses around the country. In Arlington, only one person—a detective assigned to a regional counter-terror task force—works on terrorism full time. But local police make an immense difference nonetheless. Arlington has strengthened its intelligence operations, changed tactics, improved its armed response to terrorism, and worked to strengthen the partnerships with citizens and other government agencies needed to fight terror.

Most intelligence gathering remains the same, but Arlington's patrol officers now have better information and federal agencies share more information with local police than they used to. Before and after September 11, Arlington's police force focused its intelligence efforts on the same things that concern most other police agencies: the comings and goings of known criminals, local gangs, and troublemakers. Intelligence gathering, as in most local police agencies, take low-key forms: Police talk with residents, swap information with colleagues, and meet with counterparts at other agencies to determine regional crime trends. But, in the wake of the 9/11 attacks, police intelligence has taken on a more formal face. Each officer now gets a weekly intelligence briefing that includes everything from gang-related turf battles to news about the Middle East. Some briefing items (like Kasi's execution) make the newspapers, others appeal only to law enforcement professionals. One bulletin in November informed police about failed recruitment efforts by tiny black and white supremacist gangs in Washington, D.C. The police department's intelligence really does stay ahead of the news: Arlington police had advance knowledge of threatened al-Qaeda attacks on medical facilities around the country and asked patrol officers to keep an extra eye on hospitals.

Only a handful of department employees have the top secret security clearances needed to get everything the FBI hands out, but detective P. J. Reid, who serves on the regional terrorism task force, doesn't see this as a problem. "There are enough of us who get all the information that the [federal] government collects that we can share it pretty easily with everyone else; at least what they need to know," he says. Before September 11, local police across the country, even those at very high levels, had almost no access to intelligence gathered by the FBI and other federal agencies.

Even with the new intelligence, the daily routine of Arlington County Police remains the same as in every other police department: writing tickets, settling quarrels, catching purse snatchers, and investigating robberies. "You can pick things here and there that are different than they were before," says Lieutenant Dave Dailey, Flynn's aide. "Vehicle stops are taken much more seriously; a major event now requires added security." Some real changes have taken place: In response to terror alerts, officers often get instructions to watch specific types of buildings. One police officer complained to me, however, that the list of things to watch out for has grown so long that it's almost useless. "They want me to do everything at once and I just can't," he said. But some post-9/11 changes have made officers happier. Arlington is probably the first urban police agency in the country to issue basic anti-chemical weapons gear to all of its officers, and its Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) team has obtained a bevy of sophisticated new weapons since 9/11.

In short, Arlington has prepared for the worst. During the weeks that the two snipers were wreaking havoc, Arlington police had their first post-9/11 opportunity to confront a terrorist threat. It took several days—and a shooting further south in Virginia—for Flynn to take action, but, when he did, Arlington police were ready. A new county-wide aerial computer map detailed enough to let users spot an item as small as a briefcase

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

came in handy: Police identified 30 locations which seemed likely targets and staked them out. A new radio system, purchased partly with federal funds, helped officers talk to police in other jurisdictions. (Because of its proximity to the nation's capital and status as site of a 9/11 attack, Arlington police have had much better access to federal anti-terror funds than most other police departments. In all, the agency has received $16 million in anti-terror funds since 9/11.) All officers worked 12-hour shifts, and the department started taking reports for minor incidents over the phone rather than sending out cops to check out the scenes. The county's entire SWAT team went into full-time service in heavily armed two-person patrol cars intended to swoop down on sniper suspects and protect police.

While the particulars of the sniper attacks dictated Arlington's response, post-9/11 changes have affected other aspects of Arlington's police operations. A new order, for example, sets an even-handed policy for dealing with possible terrorist situations. "We don't want to be blue canaries," says Jim Daly, the sergeant in charge of the department's information management operations. "We'll take risks but not stupid ones. We're not going to go walking into a Metro tunnel when there's a chemical weapon used unless we have protective gear on." (Police in Japan did this.) The most important tactical change may come in the county's new incident command system: The system sets up formal procedures for establishing a command center, coordinating actions with other agencies, and keeping the public informed in a crisis. The department now uses the system for incidents as minor as a multi-car pileup on a highway. Steve Holl, now the Emergency Planning chief for the department, rehearsed the system by rolling dice and asking members of his command staff to make decisions depending on how the dice came up. While many other agencies had incident command orders in place, few bothered to practice them.

In Arlington's case, practice paid off: Arlington police officers were the first local law enforcement officials to respond to the attack on the Pentagon on 9/11 and, within a half hour, Arlington police had set up a command post on the spot. "We knew we were working for the Arlington Fire Department from just a few hours after the plane hit," says Holl. In the days that followed, Arlington police assisted with every aspect of the operation from collecting body parts to guarding Pentagon's rubble field. Since 9/11, the system has come into even wider use and Holl has traveled the country advocating it to other police agencies.

For all of Arlington's preparations, however, everyone in the agency from Chief Flynn on down remains acutely aware that they cannot fight terrorism on their own. The police need help from the community, other police agencies, and the federal government. In the wake of 9/11, Arlington's police have also become more sensitive to community concerns about terror: Neighborhood watch meetings, which once dwelled on speeding motorists and graffiti, now include questions about terrorism; plausible-sounding tips sometimes end up in the intelligence briefing. But, aside from providing tips, civilians have not played a major role in Arlington's fight against terror so far.

Getting police agencies to work together presents a special challenge throughout America. The United States has the most decentralized law enforcement system in the industrialized world. While France makes do with a single national police agency, and Canada has about 250, the United States has 16,500 separate law enforcement agencies. Since 9/11, Arlington Police has signed an agreement allowing the department to make arrests on Pentagon grounds and allowing the Pentagon Force Protection Agency to make arrests in Arlington County. Training with other agencies—ranging from the police at Reagan National Airport to the SWAT team in nearby Alexandria—has become more frequent.

For its size, Arlington has few neighbors; only four cities touch it and relations between their personnel and Arlington's are strong. Because of the preponderance of government facilities and Arlington's longstanding status as a personnel feeder for federal agencies, relationships with many federal agencies have evolved as well. But even at the federal level—with well over 50 law enforcement agencies—alliances can sometimes be strained. "There are [federal] agencies right here in Arlington I've hardly heard of," admits police Captain David Herbstreit, who runs the SWAT team. "Sometimes it seems like a mess." Nearly everyone I spoke with at Arlington County Police complained about problems dealing with the FBI in the wake of 9/11. FBI agents, Arlington police officers said, denied them access to information they needed to do their jobs even during the sniper incident. (Things went more smoothly at the Pentagon.)

Police departments around the country are much worse off: About 25 towns border on Chicago, and Los Angeles has to deal with over 100 other agencies. Fighting terrorist organizations with a global reach will, at the very least, require improved cooperation on the local level. If the problems in Arlington are stumbling blocks, massive hurdles hinder the progress of other police agencies in meeting the terrorist threat.

The federal government in particular has much more to do to involve local police agencies. "There still is not a clear national strategy which involves the local police agencies," says Flynn. "There is a way that America's decentralized law enforcement structure could become a strength. But we still haven't found it."

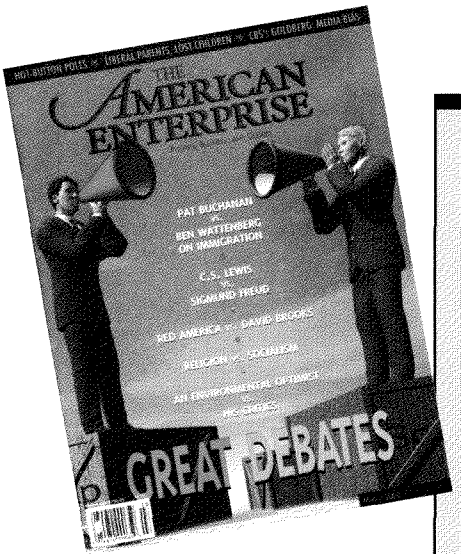
No local police agency will ever be able to handle a terrorist attack by itself, and, Arlington, like all other police agencies, still needs to practice and refine its response. "There are 30,000 FBI employees and almost 700,000 police officers working at the local level," says Brian Berk, a lieutenant in Arlington's investigation's section. "The terrorists will be living in our towns and attacking us right here. For us to win the war on terror, we have to all work together."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

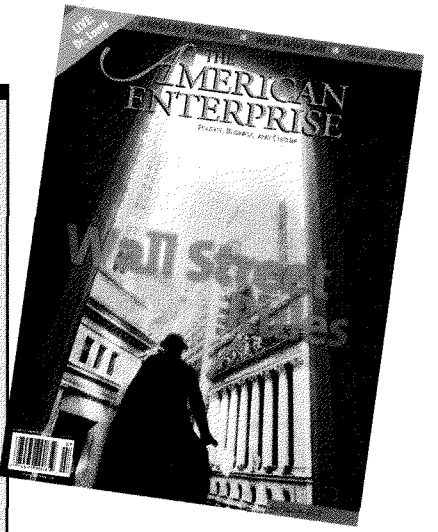
Pick A Free Issue

Subscribe or Renew NOW

& choose a FREE issue from our collection of greatest hits!



- ☐ **Europe Drifts Away** The close transatlantic alliances of the Cold War are a thing of the past. Essays by Karl Zinsmeister, Joshua Muravchik, Michael Ledeen, Jonathan Rauch, John O'Sullivan, Mark Steyn, and others. "Live" with Peter Hitchens. (D '02)
- ☐ **American Originals** Inspiring stories about Real Americans who have made, and continue to make, this country great. (O/N '02)
- ☐ **College Campuses** Politically, they're some of the most intolerant places in the U.S. Our stunning original research at two dozen colleges proves that conservatives are almost extinct in the faculty lounges. (S '02)
- ☐ **Wall Street Rules** The real world problems and payoffs of investing today. Dr. Laura "Live" & Don Feder on movie wimps. (J/A '02)
- ☐ **New York City** Eight months after 9/11, an assessment of our biggest city by Pat Moynihan, Michael Barone, Karl Zinsmeister, Bill Kauffman & others. (June '02)
- ☐ **The State of Our Nation** John Zogby, Dinesh D'Souza, Joel Kotkin, Charles Murray, Karlyn Bowman, Michael Cox, and others examine the latest census and polling data. (A/M '02)
- ☐ **Great Debates** Pat Buchanan v. Ben Wattenberg on immigration. C. S. Lewis v. Sigmund Freud. Rural America v. David Brooks. Realists v. Enviros. CBS's Goldberg on media bias. (Mar '02)
- ☐ **Good Art/Bad Art** Why most modern art is so awful, and how to change that. Karl Zinsmeister, Andres Duany, Michael Medved, Jonah Goldberg. Plus Wm. F. Buckley interview. (J/F '02)
- ☐ **Islamic Terrorism** Where it came from. How to stop it. With exclusive reporting from the Middle East. Also, Josiah Bunting III on education and character. (D '01)
- ☐ **Good Bye To The Aircraft Carrier?** Bold military reforms, aimed at coping with terror and other new challenges, are on the way. (O/N '01)
- ☐ **Energy Crunch** Environmental phobias crash into the iron laws of supply and demand. (S '01)
- ☐ **The Slavery Reparation Controversy** John McWhorter and Deroy Murdock discuss the flawed logic behind the argument. Also: Our sick postal system's future. (J/A '01)
- ☐ **America's Divided Politics** Mona Charen, Chris Matthews, Ed Koch, David Frum, Michael Medved, David Boaz and others debate the country's future politics. (Mar '01)
- ☐ **Model Schools** A year's worth of reporting from 14 schools that really teach. Also: Shelby Foote, unfiltered; Michael Novak finds God. (J/F '01)
- ☐ **Fixing Immigration** Critics from Left and Right, including Michael Barone, Samuel Huntington & Linda Chavez. Also: John McWhorter pleads "Let Blacks Compete." (D '00)
- ☐ **Bush & Cheney's Backyard** A look at Dallas shows what booming Middle America has to teach coastal elites. (O/N '00)
- ☐ **Where Are Today's Heroes?** Answers from Stephen Ambrose, James Webb, Ben Stein & others. Also: NY Times to NYPD: Drop Dead! (Sep '00)
- ☐ **The War on Boys** by Christina Hoff Sommers. Also: Ward Connerly recounts his struggles. Bob Costas. (June '00)
- ☐ **Deep Inside America's Military Academies** James Webb, Pat Conroy, Bill Kauffman and others in a special report based on 12 months of in-depth investigation. Also: Chris Matthews "Live." (J/A '99)



Start a one-year subscription to *The American Enterprise,* or extend your existing subscription (in either case at our standard one-year price of $28), and **we'll send you a classic back issue at no extra charge** (a $6 value).

We'll even let you **choose** the issue you want.

Fill in your subscriber's information. Then mark the free back issue you'd like, and we'll send it at the same time we process your subscription order.

Copy or tear out and mail to
The American Enterprise
109 Briarcliffe Road
Dewitt, N.Y. 13214
or FAX to 315.449.3242

☐ Please start my one-year subscription to *The American Enterprise.*
(AFBJF3)

☐ Please extend my current subscription by one year.
(EFBJF3)

Name.....

Address.....

.....

City.....

State/Zip.....

☐ check for $28 (made out to *The American Enterprise*) enclosed.
☐ bill my VISA/MC/AMEX

card #.....

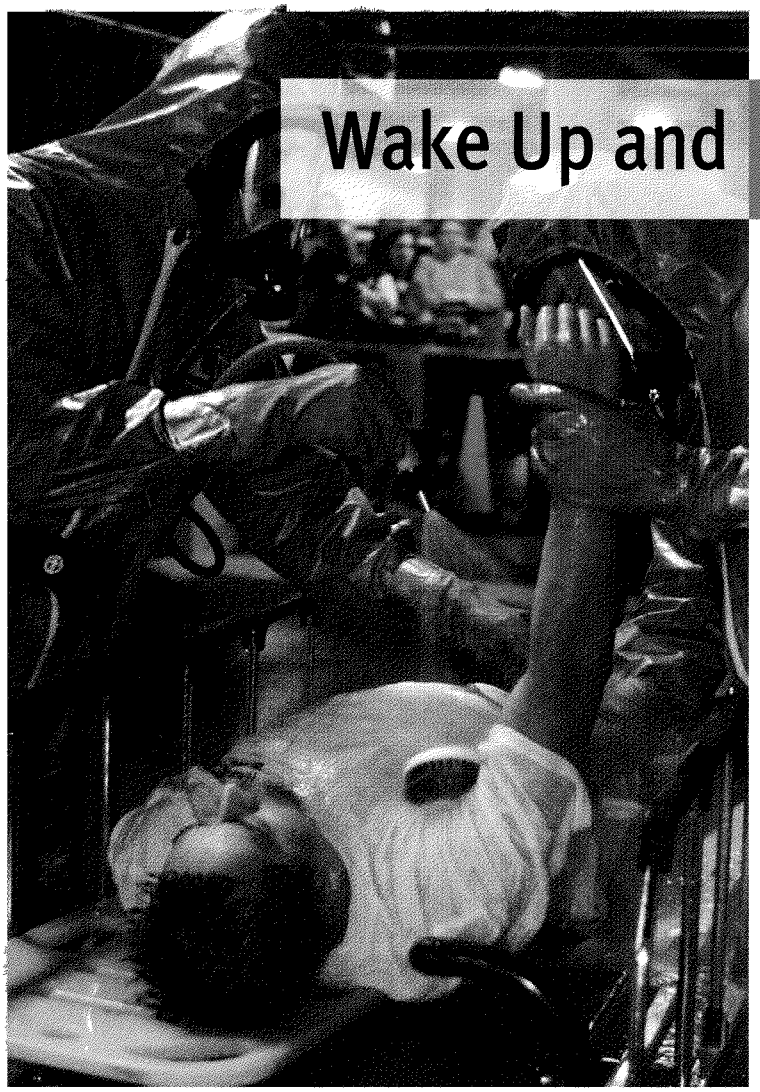
expires.....

sign.....

phone.....

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Wake Up and Smell the Bio Threat

By Scott Gottlieb

In August 1999, four New York City residents showed up at hospital emergency rooms complaining of headaches and dizziness. A few became paralyzed. Doctors were stumped. Botulism? A rare nerve inflammation? Scans eventually revealed that the patients all had encephalitis—an inflammation of the brain.

Eight cases and another two weeks later, the Centers for Disease Control came up with a diagnosis: St. Louis Encephalitis, a viral disease transmitted by mosquitoes. Publicly, the CDC and local health agencies stuck with their diagnosis. Privately, scientists were skeptical: They tested mostly for standard diseases, not rare ones.

CDC scientists continued their research. Doctors didn't crack the case until birds started to die at the Bronx Zoo. An astute veterinarian sent a few bird brains to a friend at the Department of Agriculture. The samples ended up at CDC headquarters in Atlanta, where scientists used genetic fingerprinting to discover that it was West Nile Virus—never before detected in North America—that was making people sick. By autumn, a total of 62 people had been diagnosed with the virus, and six had died.

But less than one of every 100 people infected with West Nile actually becomes seriously ill. Only mosquitoes can spread it. America's next viral outbreak, whether natural or an act of bio-terrorism, may not be so easy on us. The official response to West Nile instills little confidence that disaster could be avoided in the case of a bio-terror attack. Right now, everything America has that was designed specifically to counter bio-terrorism is old, expensive, and slow.

The greatest threat probably comes from viruses: They are relatively easy to engineer into designer bio-weapons. Technicians can produce viruses from a rather small collection of DNA. (In July of last year, scientists reported they had created the polio virus from recipes available on the Internet.) Many viruses can also survive for long periods of time outside living cells, especially in a dry state, where they can easily become airborne. There are no antiviral drugs that have the same striking effectiveness and broad attack range that antibiotics do.

Indeed, we might not even know that an attack had occurred for some time. Most bio-terror experts worry about the silent release of an infectious agent of which we have no hint until the incubation period has passed and the terrorists have fled. Then people would come to emergency rooms with non-specific symptoms that may not immediately trigger the right medical diagnoses. So what's required is a good early warning system. Right now, disease surveillance comes in two principal forms. Passive surveillance usually calls on doctors to take the initiative to report suspicious medical cases to state health authorities. Active surveillance asks public health officials to contact doctors directly to gather the data. Both methods share one inherent handicap: By the time people go to the hospital, an epidemic could have already broken out.

Except for food- and water-borne diseases, the U.S. has no comprehensive system for detecting outbreaks of infectious diseases before people start to get ill. Each state decides which diseases to report to the state health department and which information to pass on to the CDC. Often, chaos results. "There's so much noise, we can hardly pick up the signal," says Frederick Burkle of the Defense Threat Reduction Agency at Johns Hopkins University. Even worse, we don't even have the needed technology: About half of state labs can't do the type of genetic testing that ultimately unearthed West Nile.

A bit of progress has been made: The CDC is encouraging

AP Photo/Nati Harnik

Scott Gottlieb, a physician, is a resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and a staff writer for the British Medical Journal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

local public health leaders to develop systems for surveying the public for worrisome signs such as unusual diagnoses or spikes in doctor visits—a practice public health officials call syndromic surveillance. New York City has such a system in place: Emergency rooms feed data into a central computer system; software alerts public health officials when it finds clusters of symptoms in one geographic area, unusual combinations of symptoms, or inordinately high numbers of symptoms reported by a particular hospital. Health officials hope to couple these systems with databases that track over-the-counter drug sales (patients often purchase medicine before they decide to go to the emergency room).

Syndromic surveillance is swiftly becoming a mainstay of bio-terror preparedness nationwide. It has also prompted a rash of false alarms, as doctors, trained to spot these syndromes, leap to conclusions they would never have considered before 9/11. On August 4, an emergency room doctor at Beth Israel Hospital in Brooklyn decided that a patient with fever and a skin rash fit the description for smallpox. He activated New York's emergency response system over what turned out to be a mild case of contact dermatitis.

And there is much skepticism about the approach. "Syndromic diagnosis—that's nothing but a big charade," says Dr. C. J. Peters, former head of the CDC's top security lab. "By the time you start getting blips in emergency rooms, it's too late."

President Bush has pledged $11 billion over the next two years to reconfigure the infrastructure of the national health system. The federal government has already spent more than $3 billion to upgrade disease surveillance, expand laboratories, and improve communications abilities. But all of these measures won't much strengthen our ability to detect unusual microbes.

Health officials still focus on tracking downstream markers of disease, the things that happen after people get sick—medicine purchases, strange clinical syndromes, doctor visits. Instead, surveillance systems need to be geared to spotting the microbes themselves, before people have incubated and spread these germs. Some scientists want to develop means for routinely screening blood for the myriad viruses ranging from influenza to designer bugs terrorists might develop. If this kind of surveillance existed, it could provide a national trip-wire for new viral pathogens.

How would it work? Health officials would collect samples of serum from all the blood that ordinary diagnostic labs dispose of daily. A national lab would screen the samples for viruses. That way, health officials could detect infections before people develop symptoms, allowing for quarantines and early medical interventions to control impending epidemics.

This idea is the brainchild of Norman Anderson, a celebrated researcher in vaccine purification and clinical testing who heads the Viral Defense Foundation, and his son Leigh Anderson, the former chief scientific officer at the biotech firm Large Scale Biology. The technology already exists to sequence viruses' DNA—a technique called shotgun sequencing. It was pioneered by Craig Venter, the former chief executive of Celera Genomics, which mapped the human genome in record time, and has become the mainstay of genomic research. The Andersons' proposal would involve checking each blood sample for viruses and then comparing them to a computer database of known viruses around the world. (It's a similar technique that ultimately led scientists to discover that West Nile Virus was behind the deaths in New York.) Computers could keep count of what has been found in a particular blood sample, and assemble a human virus index to monitor the ebb and flow of different diseases in the population. Any DNA sequences that the computer didn't recognize could be flagged for bio-terrorism monitors. If this technology sounds futuristic, it's not. Oceanic researchers already employ similar procedures to separate viruses from ocean water.

To get a representative sample, researchers would probably need to take blood only from a select group of labs, not all of them. Right now, CDC researchers call up a pre-selected group of doctors scattered across the country to check for any unusual medical cases. This system relies on doctors to spot the early signs and symptoms of something more sinister than ordinary influenza. West Nile proved this kind of surveillance slow, and too unreliable to thwart outbreaks. By going straight to blood, the CDC can have early and incontrovertible data.

Everything America has that was designed specifically to counter bio-terrorism is old, expensive, and slow.

Alas, public health officials by their very training are averse to such technological solutions, placing their faith in statistics and epidemiology. But these techniques suffer from poor sensitivity, lack of timeliness, and minimal coverage. America's public health establishment must realize that biological weapons exist. As biology moves from a laboratory to a digital science, even unsophisticated hacks can develop dangerous weapons. As terrorists bring increasing sophistication to their craft there's a growing disproportion between our defensive technologies—developed to thwart ordinary illnesses—and the bio-weapons.

The threat of smallpox looms large right now, and policymakers are debating how many vaccine doses to make available. Iraq and North Korea, among others, probably have smallpox samples that could be turned into weapons. If smallpox were released into our cities, officials might have only a few hours to react. By the time the virus is first detected, it could have already spread to hundreds or thousands of close contacts. Sick people will have boarded planes to distant locations, coughed their way through closed buildings, or ridden on subways. That's how pandemics start.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Better Unsafe Than (Occasionally) Sorry?

Meet one of the crusaders blocking intelligent profiling of terrorists

By Scott Johnson

David Harris is the University of Toledo law professor who provided much of the intellectual heft behind the war on racial profiling. His 1999 report for the American Civil Liberties Union, which has filed most of the anti-profiling law suits, was entitled "Driving While Black: Racial Profiling on the Nation's Highways." In 2002 he expanded his argument into a book.

The national ruckus Harris helped stir up has, among other results, made it hard for security personnel to use intelligent profiles to uncover potential terrorists in airports, at our national borders, and at visa offices abroad. That is a mistake that has already come to haunt the U.S. horribly (see sidebar). And so long as anti-profiling crusaders prevent law enforcement officials from carefully applying profiling tools, Americans will continue to be needlessly exposed to potential re-runs of September 11.

Harris and his compatriots are clever enough to present themselves as friends of law enforcement, who are just trying to help the police do a better job. Harris himself purports to object to racial profiling mostly because it's "ineffective." But the reality is that he has launched a broad and misguided attack on America's law enforcement and criminal justice systems. Like most of the activists who have turned the campaign against racial profiling into a crusade, Harris practices a shoddy form of racial politics with which we have become all too familiar.

The thesis at the heart of the anti-profiling complaint—that racial disparities in crime rates and arrests reflect racially biased policing—is torn to shreds by basic criminological data. David Harris argues that crime rates are equal among racial groups, and arrests, convictions, and incarcerations are unequal simply because police, prosecutors, and courts systematically pick on minorities because of the color of their skin. The logic of his argument ends in a demand for justice by racial quota.

The contention that crime is committed at equal rates by members of various ethnic groups is the central premise of the ACLU's anti-profiling argument. If that premise is false, their argument fails. And the stakes are high. The issue of alleged ethnic discrimination by police has taken on a heightened importance amidst the war on terrorism. Many of the profiling issues that began as farce over traffic enforcement stops are now replaying themselves in the war on terror as potential tragedies.

Contrary to the view of the world propounded by David Harris and the ACLU, racial disparities in law enforcement generally reflect racial disparities in *crime rates.* It is true that racial disparities exist at many stages of our criminal justice system. Blacks have been arrested, convicted, and incarcerated at rates far exceeding those of whites for as long as official data on the subject have been compiled. Middle Eastern Arabs have been disproportionately associated with air terrorism for more than a generation.

These disparities have been studied for evidence of systematic discrimination, and it is now widely accepted among serious scholars, such as Professor Michael Tonry of the University of Minnesota Law School, that higher levels of arrests and incarceration in the U.S. by ethnicity result substantially from higher levels of crime, not racial bias. Sometimes the magnitude of the racial disparities in crime rates is huge. The black murder rate is seven to ten *times* the white murder rate.

Harris claims that disparities in arrest and incarceration rates are a function of systemic law enforcement bias. Finding that the

Minneapolis attorney Scott Johnson, an adjunct fellow of the Claremont Institute, has publicly debated David Harris on this topic.

©AP Photo/Victoria Arocho

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

best national data do not agree, he arbitrarily declares the data wrong: Citing statistics from the National Crime Victimization Survey, he correctly states that more than 50 percent of violent crimes are unreported. Harris then absurdly implies that it is among these unreported crimes that the otherwise undetected white criminals are hiding.

Harris's argument on this basic point does not reflect well on his methods. He makes such claims not only against cops, but against all parts of our justice system. According to him, "Just as with arrest statistics, incarceration rates measure not crime but the activity of people and institutions responsible for determining criminal sentences." In other words: Judges are racists too, just trust me.

Harris implies that if law enforcers just weren't so darn fixated on Arabs, blacks, and other minority groups, officials would discover that comparable levels of crime and terrorism are commit-

How the attack on profiling makes us unsafe

Following is an excerpt condensed from David Harris's book Profiles in Injustice, *written shortly before September 11, 2001, and published in February 2002. In this section he attempts to discredit anti-terrorism profiling in airports. Tragically, he proclaims the 1998 relaxation on screening Arab-origin travelers, which took place under "civil rights" pressure, a great success.*

A broad perception exists that Muslims or Arabs represent a potential terrorist threat that the government and the airlines must address. Constant use in the media of such terms as *Muslim extremists* and *Arab terrorists* has perpetuated this belief among the general populace.

Government actions in response to these perceptions have ranged from thoughtless to outrageous. The problems began when people who manned ticket counters and gate podiums in airports seemed to have been granted the lead role in selecting potential terrorists. When these personnel spotted someone they thought was suspicious, airline employees flagged these passengers, marking their tickets or boarding passes or tagging their luggage. Once in the gate and boarding areas, Arabs and Muslims often reported that they were taken out of normal passenger lines and waiting areas and directed to special areas for questioning, bag searches, and sometimes even intrusive types of personal searches such as frisks. Airport personnel often marked suspects' suitcases with bright strips of colorful tape, with words like "SECURITY" printed in bold, black letters clearly visible to other passengers.

Just as aggravating and angering, the airlines and the federal government responded to complaints from Arab Americans and Muslims in a classically bureaucratic fashion. Airlines typically said that their ground personnel acted on explicit instructions from the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), the government body charged with ensuring the safety of air travel. Sometimes the airlines said that they had been given a specific, written profile by the FAA, as a way to help ferret out potential security risks among their passengers. When passengers complained to the FAA, the agency vigorously denied they had given the airlines any directives or instructions of any kind, and certainly not any "profiles" designed to focus on Arab Americans as potential terrorists and security threats.

In response to the TWA Flight 800 crash in 1996, President Clinton quickly appointed a commission, headed by Vice President Gore, to investigate and propose new measures to ensure aviation safety and security. Among the commission's many recommendations were several meant to address terrorist threats. These included the nationwide implementation of a computerized profiling system to spot passengers thought to pose a higher risk of being terrorists than others. The system, known as CAPS (Computer Assisted Passenger Screening), selects people based on their flight reservation, not on travel history. A Justice Department report declares that CAPS uses neither race, ethnicity, nor national origin.

CAPS was adopted and put into operation at the beginning of 1998. At the very least, it was hoped, CAPS would end selection based on skin color, accent, and clothing. Since neither the FAA nor the airlines nor any other agency would reveal what factors constituted the CAPS profile, some feared that CAPS could end up having the same effect as the old profiles, picking out a disparate number of Arab Americans and others with connections to the Middle East.

But the worst abuses of the prior system—public searches of possessions, stigmatizing announcements, and visible signs of suspicion such as "SECURITY" tape on luggage—were virtually eliminated through regulation. According to Clinton FAA spokesman James Padgett, some of the procedures in the past had indeed been abusive—harsh tone and language used in questioning, the use of very public areas for security procedures. The FAA limited the actions that airline personnel could take when a passenger was selected by CAPS. Rather than intrusive questioning, searches, and other procedures, the FAA declared that one of only two possible actions could occur: The selected passenger's luggage could be put through an electronic explosive detection system or the luggage could be "bag matched," i.e., if the passenger does not board, his bags must be removed.

This has helped to re-educate the airline workforce. In James Padgett's words, "They see enough little old ladies selected every day" that they know not everyone being searched is bad. The message is clear: Draw no conclusion from who is selected. These folks could be anyone—even our best, highest-paying customers.

The results of these changes have been striking: According to both Arab American groups and the FAA, complaints about these types of encounters in American airports have fallen drastically since CAPS was put into place.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New From Westview!

RONALD REAGAN

THE TRIUMPH OF CONVICTION AND THE SUCCESS OF HIS PRESIDENCY

PETER J. WALLISON

Former White House Counsel to President Reagan

"Peter Wallison draws on first-hand knowledge to paint a portrait of Ronald Reagan that is particularly valuable for defying the stereotypes. . . . [Wallison] makes clear that, on the whole, our fortieth president's priorities were a strength that helped transform our country and the world."
—Lynne Cheney, Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute

"Peter Wallison has made a major contribution."
—Norman Ornstein, American Enterprise Institute

December 2002, 328 pages
0-8133-4046-2, $27.00, cloth

Westview Press
A MEMBER OF THE PERSEUS BOOKS GROUP
www.westviewpress.com

At bookstores now, or call
1-800-386-5656

ted by whites, and just left unpunished. But we have statistics on the race of perpetrators as identified by the victims of unreported crimes. And guess what? They closely track the racial identity of perpetrators in reported crimes. Harris omits this inconvenient fact brought to light by the National Crime Victimization Survey, even though he relies on that same survey to build other parts of his argument.

The anti-profilers' campaign against law enforcement is particularly bizarre and perverse given that minorities are vastly more likely to be victims of crimes. What kind of "civil rights campaign" prevents the police from incapacitating criminals who prey on minority groups? If police flinch from law enforcement for fear of generating bad arrest data that will label them racist, the great harm that follows will fall disproportionately on law-abiding residents of lower-income neighborhoods.

The controversy over "racial profiling" originated in data regarding traffic stops and airport searches that disproportionately affect blacks and ethnic minorities. In his book, Harris traces profiling back to Operation Pipeline, the 1986 Drug Enforcement Administration effort to enlist highway police in interdicting illegal drugs as they are transported by distributors on the nation's highways. Harris's argument that Operation Pipeline resulted in unfair racial profiling by highway patrollers in New Jersey, Maryland, and elsewhere is predicated on studies that falsely assume there are no ethnic differences in driving behavior, and that all ethnicities violate traffic laws at the same high rate. It is also based on the assertion that drug violations are roughly equal across groups.

But a definitive study commissioned by the New Jersey attorney general and designed by the Public Service Research Institute of Maryland found that on the New Jersey Turnpike blacks speed twice as much as white drivers—and are actually stopped less than their speeding behavior would predict. (The study was released after Harris's book had been published.) Elsewhere, Harris conflates statistics on *drug use* among racial groups (roughly equal) with statistics on *drug distribution* (as far as we can tell, not close to equal). It is drug distributors that highway patrol officers are seeking out, not drug users.

Several of the studies used by profiling opponents to indict police show nearly equal "hit" rates between whites and blacks despite the fact that blacks were searched at higher rates. (Hit rates are the rates at which searches result in the discovery of contraband.) In Maryland, "73 percent of those stopped and searched on a section of Interstate 95 were black, yet state police reported that equal percentages of the whites and blacks who were searched had drugs or other contraband," groused the *New York Times*. "Studies have shown that being black substantially raises the odds of a person being stopped and searched by the police—even though blacks who are stopped are no more likely than whites to be carrying drugs," complained the *New Republic* last year. What these statistically misleading statements overlook is that if the hit rates are about equal, *there is no discrimination*. It appears the police are focusing on legitimately suspicious *behavior*, and not simply picking on people by ethnicity.

The war on racial profiling has obscured two important facts: Racial profiling does not exist where the ACLU has persuaded everyone it does, such as on the nation's highways and streets. And it does not exist where it should, in the nation's airports and airlines.

Unfortunately, the facts have yet to catch up with the myths promoted by opponents of criminal profiling. Many Americans—including many of our leaders in politics and law enforcement—continue to treat profiling as illegitimate, as if it were disproved and discredited. That is the product of a political campaign, not of scholarly research. And it is a policy which leaves innocent Americans far more exposed to danger than they ought to be.

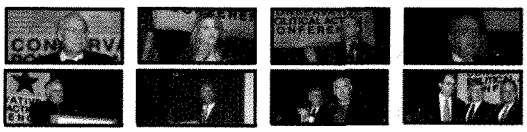
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Conservative Political Action Conference

30th Annual CPAC

January 30 - February 1, 2003

Crystal Gateway Marriott, Arlington, VA



The Nation's Largest Annual Gathering of Conservatives!

Invited Speakers Include (Partial Listing):

President George W. Bush
Vice President Dick Cheney
Sean Hannity
-AND-

Congressman Bob Barr
Hon. William Bennett
Hon. Ken Blackwell
Governor Jeb Bush
Ward Connerly
Ann Coulter
Congressman Chris Cox
Congressman Tom DeLay
Sam Donaldson
Steve Forbes
Senator Phil Gramm
Sean Hannity
Katherine Harris
Senator Jesse Helms
Charlton Heston
David A. Keene
Hon. Jack Kemp
Ambassador Alan Keyes
Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick
Wayne LaPierre
Senator Trent Lott
Senator Mitch McConnell
Chris Matthews
Grover Norquist
Col. Oliver North
Ted Nugent
Bob Novak
Governor Bill Owens
Starr Parker
Secretary Donald Rumsfeld
Phyllis Schlafly
Ben Stein
Vice President Dan Quayle
Justice Clarence Thomas
Congressman J.C. Watts
and many more...

CPAC's Presidential Banquet (1/30) Will Honor Phyllis Schlafly on the 20th Anniversary of the Defeat of the ERA!

CPAC's Ronald Reagan Banquet (1/31) will be keynoted by Majority Leader Tom DeLay

HOTEL INFORMATION:

The 30th Annual CPAC is being held from January 30th - February 1st, 2002 at the Crystal Gateway Marriott in Arlington, Virginia. For room reservations, call the Marriott reservations hotline at (800) 228-9290.

Be sure to make your reservations before Friday, January 3, 2003 and mention CPAC in order to receive the discounted room rates of $144.00 for regular registrants and $109.00 for students.

Please note that in order to receive the student rate, a student I.D. will be required at check-in, the maximum number of people in a room is five and a $15.00 charge is assessed for roll-away beds.

Note: The hotel is known to fill to capacity during CPAC -- Reserve Early!

REGISTRATION INFORMATION:

Complete and mail this form along with your check or credit card information to: Conservative Political Action Conference, 1007 Cameron Street, Alexandria, VA 22314.

Register by Phone: (800) 752-4391.

For more detailed information about CPAC or to register on-line, visit our website at www.cpac.org.

Online registration ends on January 27, 2003.

Register Today!

Call: (800) 752-4391
or online at
www.cpac.org!

REGISTRATION FORM

ATTENDEE INFORMATION

Name .....

Name for Name Tag .....

University (if applicable) .....

Address .....

City .....

State ..... Zip .....

Home Phone ..... Work Phone .....

Email Address .....

PAYMENT INFORMATION

☐ Check Enclosed ☐ Credit Card (type):

☐ Visa ☐ MC ☐ AmEx ☐ Discover

Acct. #: .....

Expiration Date .....

Signature .....

Amount to charge to card: $ .....

Early = On or Before December 1, 2002

☐ Package A - Diamond - *NEW for '03!*
Early $400/Regular $475 x_____ = $_____
Includes Presidential Reception & Banquet, Ronald Reagan Reception & Banquet, Conference & Exhibit Hall Admittance and featured listing in the CPAC agenda as a sponsor of one student scholarship.

☐ Package B - Platinum
Early $300/Regular $375 x_____ = $_____
Includes Presidential Reception & Banquet, Ronald Reagan Reception & Banquet, Conference & Exhibit Hall Admittance

☐ Package C - Gold
Early $175/Regular $200 x_____ = $_____
Includes Ronald Reagan Reception & Banquet, Conference & Exhibit Hall Admittance

☐ Package D - 3-Day Conference Pass
Early $75/Regular $90 x_____ = $_____
Includes Conference & Exhibit Hall Admittance

☐ Package E - Presidential Banquet Only
Early $200/Regular $250 x_____ = $_____
Includes Thursday Night Banquet Ticket

☐ Package F - Reagan Banquet Only
Early $150/Regular $200 x_____ = $_____
Includes Friday Night Banquet Ticket

☐ Package G - Student Registration*
$10 x _____ = $_____
Includes Conference & Exhibit Hall Admittance
**Valid Student ID Required. Contact us for discounted banquet rates and information about the free student luncheon on Friday afternoon.*

☐ Student Scholarship(s)*
$100 each x _____ = $_____ *Tax-deductible.

Total Registration/Scholarship Fees $ _____
(Please complete the payment information section to the left.)

CPAC 2003 is sponsored by the American Conservative Union Foundation in cooperation with *Human Events* and the Young America's Foundation
SOURCE CODE: AE1112

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Fatal Flaw?

By Norman Ornstein and John Fortier

The attacks on September 11, 2001 could have been worse. Were it not for the brave passengers on board United Airlines Flight 93, much of Congress might have perished. Recent interviews with captured terrorists have confirmed that this plane was headed for the U.S. Capitol. Had that plane reached its target, hundreds—perhaps thousands—more would have died and a hole in our Constitutional system might have prevented Congress from functioning for months. America's legislative branch might have lost legitimacy and power at just the time the nation needed bold leadership to make difficult decisions.

But United Flight 93 took off 41 minutes late. This delay gave the passengers time to communicate with loved ones and find out that the hijackers were on a suicide mission: They stormed the cockpit and prevented the plane from reaching its target. Had the plane hit the Capitol, several hundred members of Congress could have died or sustained serious injuries.

This would not have been a serious problem for the Senate. The Seventeenth Amendment gives states the power to fill Senate vacancies with temporary appointments.

But only a special election can fill a vacancy in the House of Representatives. Special elections take about four months to complete. Under ordinary conditions, this does not pose a problem: The House can function well with 433 members rather than the full 435.

If a large number of seats became vacant, the House would be in trouble. To begin with, the Constitution states that each body needs a majority of members to form the quorum it needs to do business. A series of rulings beginning in 1861, however, has led to a loose understanding of what constitutes a quorum in the House. Today, a majority of the members "chosen, sworn, and living" are a sufficient number to do the people's business. As a result, a large number of deaths would not prevent the formation of a quorum, but it might have the equally perverse result of allowing a few members to act in the name of the entire House. If 400 members were killed, then the remaining 35 would constitute the House, and 18 a majority.

Those 18 members could pass legislation, impeach the President, and confirm a new Vice President. The speaker of the diminished House would be third in line to the presidency, and, if the President and Vice President were killed in an attack, that new Speaker, elected by only 18 members, would ascend to the Presidency for the remainder of the term.

Both the House and Senate would face a major crisis if many members were incapacitated. Had United 93 hit the Capitol and its jet fuel exploded, there might have been more members laid up in hospital burn units than actually killed. If a large number of senators had contracted inhalation anthrax when the germ hit the building in the fall of

©Eyewire, Inc.

Norman Ornstein is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute and senior counselor to the Continuity of Government Commission. John Fortier is a research associate at the American Enterprise Institute and executive director of the Continuity of Government Commission.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

2001, it would have taken months for them to recover. If even a few members contracted a virulent infectious disease, likewise, the entire Congress might not want to come together at all for fear of spreading the disease. There is no effective way for Congress to replace these members temporarily until they recover. The alternative is to leave them in place and face the possibility that the Senate or House would not be able to form a quorum.

To address these important issues, the American Enterprise Institute and the Brookings Institution have launched the Continuity of Government Commission. Presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter are honorary co-chairs of the effort. Lloyd Cutler, former White House Counsel to Presidents Carter and Clinton, and Alan Simpson, former Republican senator from Wyoming, are chairmen. Other commissioners include former speakers of the House Newt Gingrich and Tom Foley. The Commission has held two public meetings this fall and will issue a report to the incoming Congress early in 2003.

What solutions will the Commission consider? Proposed alternatives include changes in House rules, new legislation, and a Constitutional amendment. House rules might be changed to clarify if and when the House has a quorum, but it would do nothing to fill vacancies faster. Legislation at the federal or state level could speed up elections, but it wouldn't solve the problem either: The few states that are able to hold their special elections in two months do so by dispensing with a primary, and shortening filing times. Such expedited elections could favor prominent or wealthy individuals who have the means to mount an immediate campaign.

After a serious incident, citizens would want Congress to function again almost immediately, in order to get to work on relief measures, homeland defense, and military retaliation. Even 60 days—the fastest we could probably hold special elections—would be a long time to muddle along without a Congress. Like changing the House rules, expedited special elections would do nothing to deal with incapacitation.

This leaves the possibility of passing an amendment to the Constitution, which could address these issues directly. Constitutional amendments require an arduous ratification process. They are rarely enacted. If an amendment has negative consequences, they are hard to fix. But a Constitutional amendment for the continuity of government has much going for it. A well-crafted amendment would allow the possibility of temporary appointments to fill House seats until special elections could be held, and provide temporary replacements for incapacitated members of the House and Senate until they are ready to return to their jobs.

In the 1950s and '60s, Congress considered a number of amendments in this area, and the Senate even passed three allowing governors to make temporary appointments for House seats when vacancies hit a certain level. (Several proposed amendments are listed on the Commission's Web site at www.continuityofgovernment.com.)

Given the gravity of the threat which September 11 has made us aware of, the Congress should face up to its responsibilities and make serious provisions for that horrible contingency. Congress must ensure that even if individual members perish, the institution can continue to serve the American people in the midst of the most dire crisis.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Welcoming the Enemy

©Jimmy Margulies

Joel Mowbray has famously reported on the visa scandal concerning the September 11 hijackers in National Review *and on national television. Almost all of the terrorists' visa applications should have been rejected on their face: They were incomplete, incoherent, and nonsensical. The State Department destroyed four of the visas; Mowbray was able to obtain copies of the remaining 15.*

This past October, the Center for Immigration Studies sponsored a discussion with Mowbray, Nikolai Wenzel, and Michelle Malkin, to discuss how the terrorists were able to get their visas. Following are excerpts from the remarks by Wenzel and Malkin, who shine the spotlight on the mindboggling security lapses of the State Department and INS. Mowbray's remarks are not repeated here, due to his previous extensive reporting.

Wenzel is a former U.S. foreign service officer. Malkin, the daughter of Filipino immigrants, is a syndicated columnist and author of Invasion: How America Still Welcomes Terrorists, Criminals, and Other Foreign Menaces to Our Shores. *Malkin was the first to report that the INS had had John Lee Malvo, an illegal alien and one of the two D.C. sniper suspects, in its custody before the shootings, and released him.*

Nikolai Wenzel:

The problem of issuing bad visas could happen again—in all likelihood has happened again and probably will happen again. I'm afraid that, based on the bureaucratic nature of the State Department and its systemic problems, I can't deliver much better news.

Joel Mowbray has described 214(b), the section of the Immigration and Nationality Act under which these visas should have been refused. Section 214(b) places the burden of proof on the applicant to overcome the presumption of ineligibility, by showing strong ties to his country of origin. All of these visas should have been refused under section 214(b) of the INA because the applicants did not overcome the presumption of ineligibility.

If there is a burden of proof on the applicant, there is also an implicit burden of proof on the interviewing consular officer, and therefore on the State Department, to make sure that the applicant actually does overcome the ineligibility. The application forms of these 15 hijackers are incomplete, they are sloppy, they're not properly filled out, they're full of red flags.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If a consular officer in good conscience were to see these application forms, that consular officer should call in the applicant for an interview. I would not even have called in the applicants for interview in many of these cases, because I would have referred them directly to the anti-fraud unit at the embassy. An interviewing consular officer doesn't have time to look at the really bad situations with many, many red flags.

Try this little exercise come April 15: Fill out your IRS tax forms and omit, say, income, or your address, or your Social Security number, and see what happens. All of these visas, most of them glaringly incomplete and nonsensical, were issued without delay. A few of these visas could actually have been issued properly because they were missing only a little bit of information—but only if the consular officer had asked the questions necessary to complete the application.

Admittedly, section 214(b) is difficult. It's subjective. You have two or three minutes, based on a cursory interview, based on a review of documents, to determine if somebody is likely to overstay illegally in the United States or return to his home country. That's a tough decision to make. And, the way the law is written, some bad decisions are unavoidable. Consular officers are not omniscient. They cannot read the minds of the applicants. But they have to rely on interviews, they have to rely on questions, they have to rely on information—which is not what happened in this situation.

There's a pattern. We're not looking at one or two applications that weren't filled out properly and, oops, the consular officer made a mistake. No. These are not isolated individual circumstances, and that's why I do not point the blame at the individual issuing consular officer, but at the system; at the State Department's priorities, at the priorities of issuing visas. This is a pattern of negligence. I call it criminal negligence because it is systemic and, as far as I have seen, universal.

The writing has been on the wall for several years before 9/11. One of the many reasons I left the State Department in 1999 was over disagreement with the Department's interpretation of the law, or, shall we say, application of the law. And now as an economics student rediscovering the joys of mathematics, I like to call it the one-over-214(b) argument: that as far as the State Department is concerned, an applicant is eligible for a visa until that applicant proves to the State Department and issuing consular officer that he is not eligible for a visa.

The State Department is in a somewhat difficult situation because it is saddled with the dual missions of diplomacy on the one hand, and law enforcement in the visa field on the other. The two conflict. It's tough to be nice and polite and also say, "Oh no, you can't come visit the United States." And it's always tough for the U.S. ambassador to look the president of a country in the eye and say, "Yes, we are partners of the international scene. Oh, by the way, 80 percent of your country nationals can't enter the United States, sorry."

But due to the bureaucratic priorities of the State Department, it has chosen public diplomacy to the detriment of law enforcement. One half of all the illegal aliens in the United States entered the country on non-immigrant visas issued by the State Department. This is not 5 percent, this is not 10 percent, it's not the odd mistake, it's not a problem with the law being difficult to apply. Fifty percent represents a systematic and systemic pattern of priorities.

My old boss, Tom Fury, who incidentally, and perhaps not coincidentally, was later the consul general in Saudi Arabia when these visas were issued to the terrorists had a favorite saying: "People gotta have their visas."

As far as I have seen, and as far as the General Accounting Office has reported, there has not been a self-assessment within the State Department. Instead, State denies the problem, choosing to blame the messenger, like Joel Mowbray, who was detained at the State Department for asking embarrassing questions.

The State Department will fault intelligence, will fault lack of resources. But you can have all the intelligence information in the world, you can have all the resources in the world, you can have all the money in the world—if the will is not there to apply the law, problems will continue. This has been exemplified most recently after assistant secretary for consular affairs Mary Ryan was ousted in August after the Visa Express story broke. The best the State Department could come up with as a replacement for Mary Ryan was her protegee Moira Hardy, who had served as her deputy for many years and was, I understand, instrumental in setting up the Visa Express program. This is the person the State Department is putting forth to head consular affairs in the wake of 9/11.

The only conclusion I see here is that the State Department is not fit to handle the visa function, because it has conflicting priorities, and that it should focus on diplomacy and leave the visa issuance function to a new entity, or perhaps an existing entity, I leave that to the lawmakers on Capitol Hill. A visa officer should be first and foremost a national security law enforcement officer, with important but secondary public diplomacy and courtesy considerations. Unlike the current situation where consular officers are fundamentally public affairs officers with those pesky, inconvenient law enforcement responsibilities.

The State Department has been clamoring, for as far back as I can remember, for more resources, more money. Now, since 9/11 there have been more resources. There are new security forms that certain target groups need to fill out. There is much more information on CLASS (Consular Lookout and Security Sytem), which is the terrorist background check. But the *will* has not changed.

The Visa Express program continued for almost one year *after* 9/11 and was only terminated because it caused morale problems at the embassy because it looked bad. Not because it had let terrorists in and not because it was rolling out the red carpet for potential future terrorists. In a recent letter to the Justice Department, the State Department essentially said that simply the presumption that an applicant might potentially have

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

terrorist ties was not sufficient reason to deny a visa, and that the State Department needed hard proof.

In the private sector, if you lose a million-dollar sale, you lose the contract, you lose your job, you lose the bonus. In the State Department, if you systematically issue bad visas, you get a $15,000 bonus.

I don't think anything is going to change until a clear signal is sent. And with all due respect to Joel Mowbray and *National Review* and all the superb work they're doing, just exposing these problems is not going to be sufficient. If there are no consequences, if the incentive structure is not changed, if there is no punishment for bad actions that helped facilitate the deaths of thousands of our compatriots, nothing is going to change.

Michelle Malkin:

In the same manner that the State Department and its consular officers ignored all of these omissions and non sequiturs and misspellings and lack of clarity and completion, the Immigration and Naturalization Service did the same thing at their ports of entry, which is really the last line of defense before these foreign terrorist infiltrators come into our country.

The I-94 form, which is the INS's tracking record issued to all foreign visitors, requires applicants to provide complete, truthful, and legible information about where they will stay in the U.S. during their visit and what they're going to do here. Like the State Department, the INS overlooked incomplete paperwork.

Joel Mowbray's reporting and Nikolai Wenzel's firsthand experience, and the research I did for my book, lead us to very similar conclusions: Our immigration system is incapable of doing its job. Whether you're talking about those negligent consular officers overseas, about our porous air, land, and sea ports of entry, or about our ineffective detention and deportation policies, our federal immigration authorities have failed at every level to provide for the common defense.

Where we need to start to win the war on terror is very similar to the "broken windows" approach to crime control. When you focus on the little things, as they did in New York City, fixing windows, cleaning up graffiti, paying attention to the subway fare jumpers, you can turn around a ship that is sinking. I think it's the same way with immigration policy. We need to fix and repair our broken fences: from guarding the front door and fixing the holes in the screen doors at our consular offices overseas, to locking the back door with regard to illegal immigration, and the side door that allows so many known and suspected terrorists to cycle through our system, as well as other foreign menaces and criminals. That will help us get control of what is essentially a state of immigration anarchy.

The State Department and the INS are the first and last lines of defense in protecting Americans from those who would come to our shores to do us harm. It's about time that they did their jobs. Very simply, they should start by enforcing the laws that are already on the books.

The Islamization of Europe

By Jane Barnes Mack-Cozzo

When it comes to immigration, Patrick Buchanan has an ally of sorts in Germany. Bassam Tibi, Professor of International Relations at the University of Goettingen, has been speaking out for a long time on the perils of excessive immigration into Europe. Sharing many of the same general concerns as Buchanan, he has expressed particular reservations about Muslim immigrants. What makes Professor Tibi's observations especially poignant is that he is Syrian-born, and a published authority on Islamic religion and culture.

Tibi describes two parallel Islamic communities in Europe. There are the non-orthodox Muslims who are educated and professionally successful. They have integrated and pose no problem. There are also those Muslims, however, who are part of the "mosque community." They defend another culture and reject integration because they don't reconcile democracy and constitutional law with their religion. Rather, they read in German translation the texts of Sayyid Qutb, the father of Islamic fundamentalism. This is the segment threatening the "Islamization" of Europe.

While Tibi acknowledges that Europe needs immigrants, he also believes that countries have the right to choose whom to let in. He believes it imperative to stop Islamic fundamentalists from finding refuge in the West, especially in Europe, where they pursue their anti-democratic activities and build up the logistics to promote them.

Hezbollah wants to establish central headquarters for European "operations" in Berlin. It also has been widely published that the terrorist group is beginning tactical cooperation with al-Qaeda. Hamas has already built up its logistical base in Germany. These developments took place *after* 9/11.

The financial benefits of European welfare perks, which have continued to expand unabated, help these immigrants build a cultural diaspora, which becomes a recruiting ground for Islamic fundamentalists. The Danish minister for integration acknowledged that there is no incentive for immigrants to work when they sometimes get more money from welfare than the gainfully employed. These benefits include not only unemployment compensation and social security but also generous housing, transportation, and day care allowances, to name but a few.

Europe's relaxed borders and loose immigration policy enable hundreds of al-Qaeda killers to trickle in and apply for asylum. Ramzi Binalshibh, a possible September 11 "twentieth hijacker," applied for political asylum in Germany under a false name in 1995. The application was denied, but later he reapplied under his real name and was granted a visa.

To counter this threat, Professor Tibi asserts that Western Europe needs not only border police, but also stricter legislation regarding so-called refugees. The U.K., Denmark, and the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Netherlands have been in the process of laying the groundwork for such legislation.

And not a moment too soon. If current immigration patterns continue, Denmark will most likely be 33 percent Muslim by 2040. The U.K. can expect an increase of more than 2 million immigrants over the next decade. Conservative estimates put the number of illegal immigrants into the country at approximately 250,000 a year. Indeed, in the U.K. only 11,500 of the annual 50,000-60,000 asylum applicants are turned down. In July 2002, the British government sought to reduce the number of asylum seekers by barring them from employment while their applications were being processed. But if these applications aren't processed within six months, the asylum seekers are allowed to work anyway.

Those refugees who apply for asylum should have to prove that they are indeed political refugees. Asylum would then not be an instrument so easily misused for illegal or illegitimate immigration. This is not, as Europe's leftists maintain, a manifestation of a "Fortress Europe" but necessary political control of immigration.

The alternative is an Islamic diaspora in which Muslim fundamentalists denounce the freedoms of democracy while using them for their own purposes. A suspected al-Qaeda accomplice remarked that he had "trust in the German legal system." No wonder! Not long ago in Hamburg, leading Islamic fundamentalists who had been arrested were then released on the same day, without so much as being charged.

The mosque communities also use accusations of Western persecution for their own purposes. The label "Islamophobic" is compared propagandistically to anti-Semitism. Yet many Muslims are anti-Semitic themselves. In August 2002, a Muslim group in Denmark announced that a $30,000 bounty would be paid for the murder of several prominent Danish Jews. Indeed, Muslim violence strikes fear in Denmark's 6,000 Jews, causing them to rely increasingly on police protection.

While Professor Tibi believes that genuine integration is the only solution to the problem of Islamization, he calls attention to an important distinction between the German words *Einwanderung* and *Zuwanderung*. Both connote immigration, but the former suggests institutionally regulated migration and, by extension, integration. The latter is unregulated: Immigration is random and uncontrolled and no integration occurs. This is the form that now prevails.

German politicians believe that integration will happen if immigrants are given language lessons at a total cost of $250,000,000. But if these same immigrants are not predisposed to integrate, the point is moot. Mohamed Atta's German-language ability did not seem to inspire him to do so.

These same politicians also maintain that instruction in Islamic religion contributes to integration. The extremist Islamic Federation of Berlin is now allowed to teach fundamentalist doctrine to Muslim children born in Germany. A leading Islamic cleric, Abu al-Alaak Maududi, tells his followers that "secular democracy is in every way contradictory to your religion and beliefs. The Islam in which you believe and after which you call yourselves Muslims, is completely different from this hateful system...Islam and democracy are diametrically opposed." Several Muslim leaders call openly for the introduction of *sharia* in Europe as soon as the Muslim population increases enough to enforce the archaic Islamic law. Given present immigration patterns, this won't take long. In 1996, an Islamic leader in the U.K. warned that Muslims "may seek to change the existing political, legal, and educational structures to conform to Islamic norms." Europeans seem to have forgotten that the migration of a Syrian Muslim to Spain resulted in almost 800 years of Islamic rule.

They also don't seem to understand that throughout history there always has been a tension between Europe and the Islamic world, marked especially by the clash of the Crusades and *jihad*. The 9/11 terrorists were inextricably linked to this conflict. Although we must differentiate between Islamic civilization and Islamic fundamentalism, a real dialogue that addresses both issues has yet to take place. As Patrick Buchanan points out, immigration itself merits debate. Yet that debate is prohibited by the forces of political correctness. As Professor Tibi explains, Western countries focus on a "multiculti" communitarianism, which leads to blind cultural relativism.

> Muslim leaders call openly for the introduction of sharia in Europe as soon as there are enough Muslims to enforce the Islamic law. Given present immigration, this won't take long.

Years ago, Muslims in Birmingham, England voiced objection to the singing of Christmas carols in a local school. The English reaction consisted of a pathetic plea for "interfaith understanding and tolerance" rather than righteous indignation. In France, the Mitterand government compensated the families of Muslim juvenile delinquents because remuneration was believed to negate the poverty that supposedly creates religious fundamentalism.

There are similar mindsets among large groups of Americans. The West suffers from cultural denial borne of misplaced guilt. This has fostered an identity crisis which prevents the promotion, let alone defense, of its classical values. As a result, the culture has lost its *raison d'etre*.

In short, the West is committing suicide.

Jane Barnes Mack-Cozzo, professor of American culture at Japanese universities for 12 years, now divides her time between California and Germany.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Keep Legal Battles off the Battlefield

By Alan Dowd

U.S. troops aren't the only ones waging the war on terror. An army of lawyers has also been drafted into the fight. Regrettably, they haven't been as effective as their camouflaged counterparts. In fact, most of the legal maneuvers have been downright counterproductive.

After initially promising to hold their fire, trial lawyers are now lobbing lawsuits at will, most aimed at collecting compensation for the World Trade Center attacks. At least ten lawsuits have been filed against the airlines, which, of course, were victims of the September 11 disaster themselves. As Ralph Reiland, professor of free enterprise at the University of Pittsburgh and a *TAE* contributing writer, recently reported, "Some 1,300 people have given official notice that they may sue New York City for a total of $7.18 billion because of the city's alleged negligence in the wake of the September 11 attack." The city's power supplier, ConEdison, and its insurers, have filed suit against the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, arguing that the fires which hollowed out and felled World Trade Center 7 could have been prevented if only the Port Authority had installed different diesel tanks.

Other legal battles are simmering half a continent away. At the foggy intersection of U.S. law and international law, a handful of groups have tried to win the release of al-Qaeda detainees held at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba. As the *New York Times* lamented in September, to America's critics Guantanamo has become "a synonym for human rights violations." One of those critics calls bin Laden's captured killers "the forgotten captives of the war." Thankfully, cooler and wiser heads have prevailed at the appellate level. But no one knows how long the Pentagon and Justice Department will be able to hold off the two-pronged legal assault from foreign and domestic activists.

Not all legal bombshells are falling on friendly forces. On a single day last August, prosecutors in Seattle, Detroit, and Germany indicted men linked to various terror plots. One of those nabbed in the German dragnet was indicted on 3,000 counts of murder. By autumn, an al-Qaeda cell was uncovered in Buffalo, its members accused of training at terror camps in Afghanistan and plotting attacks in America. (Incredibly, one of the accused was granted bail.)

More recently, some 700 relatives of September 11 victims made headlines by filing a $1 trillion suit against Saudi officials and the Sudanese government. By suing members of the Saudi royal family, charities, banks, and other front organizations, the plaintiffs believe they will cripple those who funded the attacks. According to Allan Gerson, a lead attorney in the super-suit, their goal is nothing less than drying up the financial reservoirs of al-Qaeda and other terror networks. Another 1,400 family members have sued Saddam Hussein for complicity in the September 11 attacks. (Although U.S. law allows Americans to access the frozen assets of terrorist states, Saudi Arabia has not been designated as such. And the frozen assets of terrorist front organizations and the Iraqi and Sudanese governments

Alan Dowd is assistant vice president at the Hudson Institute.

©Stockbyte

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

don't approach the amounts the plaintiffs are asking for.)

In Washington, federal prosecutors are still basking in the afterglow of their John Walker Lindh conviction. According to U.S. attorney Paul McNulty, the Lindh plea agreement marked "an important victory for the American people in the war on terrorism." While Lindh's conviction is welcome news, a 20-year prison sentence for taking up arms against the United States strikes most Americans as something less than justice.

However, the legal victories have been few and far between. As an Associated Press report gloomily announced this past fall, "Bush's war on terror is losing in court." Federal courts have directed the government to hold public deportation hearings. A district judge in Washington, D.C. ordered the Justice Department to release the names of all those detained in the U.S. since September 11, 2001. For the first time, a federal intelligence court denied a Justice Department wiretap request. And in an effort to ensure a fair trial and comply with rules protecting the rights of the accused, federal prosecutors carelessly gave 48 classified intelligence reports to Zacarias Moussaoui, the so-called twentieth hijacker. Moussaoui is now demanding access to other captured terrorists, citing the Sixth Amendment, which guarantees the accused the right to gather "witnesses in his favor."

The most notorious legal setback, of course, came less than a day into combat operations in Afghanistan, when a still-nameless judge advocate general (JAG) somewhere in the Pentagon's Central Command blocked U.S. forces from attacking a convoy carrying Taliban leader Mullah Mohammed Omar. In so doing, that Pentagon lawyer ensured a longer war in Afghanistan and quite likely more American casualties. Indeed, American troops were still fighting—and dying—in pitched battles with Omar's men six months after the legal-military blunder. Omar is famously still at large.

These stories may seem unrelated, but they aren't. Each is an example of how misguided America's response to terrorism has been—and continues to be. From Pan Am 103 to the first attack on the World Trade Center in 1993 to the embassy attacks in 1998 to the final attack on the World Trade Center in 2001, we have treated bin Laden and his forerunners and followers like a mob family rather than what they are—a motivated and tenacious military adversary.

They aren't impressed or intimidated by the long arm of American justice. As former U.S. attorney Mary Jo White put it, "Criminal prosecutions are simply not a sufficient response to international terrorism." In fact, if indictments and legal briefs were effective in combating terrorism, the World Trade Center would still be standing. Consider the record:

In 1993, Islamic terrorists threw their first blows at the Twin Towers, killing six Americans and injuring 1,000. Washington responded with indictments and prosecutions. In 1996, a truck bomb exploded outside the U.S. military's Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia. The blast killed 19 airmen and injured 200. Washington responded with indictments and deportations. In 1998, terrorists bombed a pair of American embassies in East Africa, murdering 224 civilians and injuring more than 5,000. Washington responded with an impotent volley of cruise missiles, an indictment of bin Laden, and a $5 million bounty. Finally, in October 2000, terrorists used a rubber boat to blast a hole in the *USS Cole*, killing 17 sailors. Washington's response centered not on sending troops into Yemen, but FBI agents.

In one sense, the desire to redress wrongs in the courts is a good thing. It's a reflection of America's preferred way of settling disputes. Rather than cut off appendages, we ask a judge to garnish wages. Rather than kill each other, we sue each other. Rather than firebomb corrupt corporations, we take them to court. We are a nation of laws and rights. Our system of government is grounded in the written word, not in the whims of a dictator. And since the interpretation of the written word can expand or limit our rights, we rely on lawyers to argue about what those words mean and how far those rights extend.

The critical difference is this: Our courts are for administering justice in America and settling disputes between Americans—not for waging war.

Far from being fear-struck by indictments and legal labels, the masterminds of modern terror wear the notoriety as a badge of honor. Bin Laden bragged after Washington added the Taliban to its list of state-sponsors of terrorism in the late 1990s: "This decision is for us a certificate of good conduct for the government of the Taliban, and it acquits them of the accusation of being followers or agents of America."

Even so, it's wrong to saddle trial lawyers, federal prosecutors, and JAG officers with all the blame for the legal quagmire that has delayed the war on terror. We have ourselves to blame as well. Military lawyers would not be so jittery were it not for the litigious nature of modern America. Trial lawyers would not be so quick to fire off legal briefs were it not for America's courtroom myopia. We need look no further than the nearest television set—crowded with at least a dozen programs and an entire network devoted to legal disputes and the courts. It's hard to tell if this is a case of life imitating art or art imitating life. There are some 18 million lawsuits filed in state and federal courts every year. Nine out of every ten suits filed on earth are filed in U.S. courts, and 70 percent of the world's lawyers live in the United States. Moreover, we settled this century's first Presidential election in a courthouse. And for much of the 1990s, the President divided his time evenly between his lawyers and his Cabinet, elevating his fleet of counsels to a kind of fourth branch of government.

Likewise, it's wrong to question the motives of those who are trying to wage this war in the courts. Most of them are pursuing the same goals as America's men and women in uniform. However, it's altogether appropriate to question their methods. As Pascal wrote, "Law without force is impotent." These suits and indictments might make plaintiffs and prosecutors feel good, but since there is no force of U.S. law beyond our shores, they have no impact where it matters most—with an enemy that uses children as time-bombs and civilian airliners as guided missiles.

The only way to fight this enemy is with warriors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Defending the Homeland Begins at Home

By Chris Weinkopf

Corbis/Bettmann

"LET ME TELL YOU, AS A COP, I'm not gonna be there," Mark Granko told his students, who sat transfixed, listening to war stories from his 25 years as a police officer, including five on a SWAT team. "I don't care if you call 911. By the time we get there, it's over."

That's why the 15 men, mostly in their 20s and 30s, had trekked to the seedy Oakland suburb of Richmond for the weekend. We were there for one purpose alone: to learn how to kill an attacker instead of allowing him to kill us while we wait for the police to arrive.

This wasn't a class on gun safety, although safety was the rule of the day. Nor was it a course on marksmanship, but we couldn't let off a poor shot without getting an earful from Granko and his fellow instructors. After all, our targets were never more than seven feet away, just like real-life rapists, murderers, muggers—and possibly terrorists. As our coaches liked to remind us, a sloppy shot could make the difference between our own life and death.

That was the heart of the two-day Civil Shield class: life and death. The question was whether each of us, if tested, valued our lives and those of our family and loved ones enough to fight for them, or whether we would accept victimization.

In 1993, Jeffrey Snyder wrote a seminal piece for *The Public Interest*, "A Nation of Cowards," in which he marveled at an odd contradiction in American culture—our collective, professed commitment to independence and autonomy, yet our utter refusal to accept, individually, the responsibility for protecting ourselves from crime. "While people are encouraged to revel in their individuality and incalculable self-worth," Snyder wrote, "the media and the law enforcement establishment continually advise us that, when confronted with the threat of lethal violence, we should not resist, but simply give the attacker what he wants."

This mentality assumes that the attacker—who has already broken both the law and our first social contract to respect the property rights, freedom, and dignity of others—will suddenly abide by a new social contract, one Snyder characterized as,

Chris Weinkopf is an editorial writer and columnist for the Los Angeles Daily News.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"I will not hurt or kill you if you give me what I want." At times that may be the case, but often, it isn't.

There's also the greater point of our duty to our fellow civilized, law-abiding man. It's one thing to forfeit one's own life, property, or dignity to an assailant, and quite another to submit one's neighbor or loved one to the same. Where is the virtue in a husband who, honoring some imaginary social contract with a criminal, allows his wife to be raped? Or the parents who stand by helpless as an intruder carries off their child?

How about the citizen who quivers behind a potted plant as a terrorist unloads his rifle into a crowded theater? The war on terror adds a new dimension to the case Snyder laid out a decade ago. Today, self-defense entails not only protecting one's self, but also one's nation and *its* security.

Snyder wrote convincingly of each person's moral responsibility to take up arms in self-defense: "Crime is rampant because the law-abiding, each of us, condone it, excuse it, permit it, submit to it. We permit and encourage it because we do not fight back, immediately, then and there, where it happens.... We are a nation of cowards and shirkers."

Nearly a decade later, the dichotomy between our fetish of self-sufficiency and our aversion to self-defense is greater than ever. As a culture, we have increasingly come to realize that each of us can perform many of the tasks we once consigned largely to "experts," whether it's refinishing the hardwood floors or filing our taxes. Yet when it comes to confronting rapists, murderers, robbers, or terrorists, that's a duty most of us—especially those living in the "blue states"—would just as soon leave to the professionals, even though the professionals are usually the first to admit that in most situations, there's little or nothing they can do.

I'm a product of the culture of cowardice. I grew up in New England, where guns were considered the playthings of sociopaths and rednecks, with no place in the home of thoughtful, civilized people. I've lived in blue-state territory all my life, from New England to New York, to my current home in Southern California. In these parts, even among Republicans and conservatives, there's a stigma attached to gun ownership, as if the commitment to individual responsibility stops short of self-defense.

When my wife and I bought our first home a year ago, friends and family helpfully advised us to buy a fire extinguisher—after all, we wouldn't want a small kitchen fire to grow out of control and consume the house while we wait for the fire department to arrive. None, however, suggested that we buy a gun, lest a home invader rape or kill a member of our family while waiting for the police to show up.

When we enrolled in a Red Cross CPR and first-aid class last summer, we were widely praised for our forward thinking. Our instructor repeatedly advised us of the moral obligation to know CPR—without immediate attention, he said, someone in a state of cardiac arrest is unlikely to survive the wait for paramedics.

I got no such kudos when I told the same friends and relatives that we were headed up to the Bay Area for a weekend so I could take an intensive gun-training class. Then, the response was either one of disdain or bemusement. I repeatedly found myself offering an explanation—"It's for an article I'm writing"—as though a professional interest in self-defense was more legitimate than a personal one.

I hadn't so much as touched a loaded weapon until age 26, when, for my bachelor party, some friends and brothers-in-law took me to a local rifle range, where much fun was had blasting away at—actually, around—paper targets. Yet I had come to understand the societal value of gun ownership, and I was a supporter of the Second Amendment. But guns were still for *other* people.

My pro-gun convictions became more personal after 9/11, when the extent of existing dangers became all the more clear. So when Ed Isper, then the president of Civil Shield, a Northern California company specializing in both armed and unarmed self-defense training of all kinds, invited me to participate in a weekend-long class in pistol techniques, I eagerly accepted the offer.

The class began early Saturday morning, at a dusty rifle range tucked between several low hills that served as the backstop for our bullets. The classes, which cost $350 apiece plus nearly as much in ammunition, drew a largely upper-middle-class clientele. It was a serious group, with few if any showboaters, survivalists, or overly macho types. The experience levels ranged from novices learning their basic skills to a Berkeley cop, there to supplement his professional training.

With the single exception of the dance classes my wife and I took in the weeks before our wedding, I had never felt so instantly incompetent. Each time, as we were called to draw and fire our weapons within a matter of seconds, I found myself stumbling to be mindful of my motion, my stance, my grip, my aim, how my eyes would move to the target, the way my finger gently squeezed the trigger until—pow!—the sudden burst jerked the whole upper half of my body backward.

But the instructors earned their paychecks that weekend. I learned how to do a "combat reload," and how to set up shots on the move by reacting to motions and sounds around me. I learned how to fire from one knee for close-quarters situations, and, when the circumstances demand it, how to perform a "failure drill"—two shots to the chest, one to the head.

By the end of the first day, I was holding my own. At the end of the second, I had the calluses, blisters, and bruises to show for firing off literally hundreds of rounds of ammunition. I was smooth on the draw—albeit far from quick—and when I managed to remember all the pointers my instructors had given me, I was a pretty decent shot. In one of our last exercises, when, instead of firing at black-and-white outlines of human shapes, we got to shoot up life-size posters of fictional assailants, I managed to put a bullet smack in the forehead of the Uzi-packing Asian gangbanger in body armor. I couldn't help feeling a cer-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tain sense of self-satisfaction when the instructor looked at my handiwork and offered a one-word assessment: "Vicious."

But underlying the thrill of the moment was the sobering reality that in real life my targets wouldn't be made of paper, nor would they wait the several seconds it took me to get in my stance and aim. A lot more practice would be necessary. Still, the foundation had been laid, and my incompetence transformed to a basic confidence: Victimhood is a choice I need not make.

Ed Isper, Civil Shield's former president, believes that September 11, 2001, "caused a lot of people to step back and re-evaluate their opinion on the use of violence in self-defense." "Something like 9/11 causes some soul searching. People…are much less inclined to accept being terrorized."

Indeed, if ever there was a crystallizing event to prove the inability of government to prevent, let alone stop, all acts of evil, it was that day. The combined, bungling efforts of the FBI, CIA, and myriad other law enforcement agencies proved inadequate to quash the murderous aspirations of 19 ruthless terrorists. Metal detectors, x-ray machines, and the perfunctory "have your bags been with you at all times" interrogation at the ticket counter didn't stop the men from bringing boxcutters on board. After the first airliner crashed into the World Trade Center on that awful morning, and federal officials realized that other planes had also been hijacked, the Air Force scrambled fighter jets with orders to shoot them down. Even that horrendous, last-ditch resort wasn't enough.

The terrorists did meet one setback that day: It was aboard United Flight 93, the plane presumably headed for the Capitol, but which crashed in Pennsylvania farmland instead. The difference was made by ordinary people—not experts, not police, not federal sky marshals—ordinary people who, thanks to their cell phones, soon realized that this was no "normal" hijacking. And so for those brave souls on Flight 93, the new mantra became "Let's roll." The terrorists thought it would be so easy, until a group of ordinary people made it so hard, staving off one more disaster on a day synonymous with the word.

Even after September 11, when airports worldwide made an obsessio of screening passengers, Richard Reid boarded a plane in Paris bound for Miami with plastic explosives encased in the sole of his sneaker. Once the plane was in the air, there was nothing any police agency or stricter law could have done to stop him. A flight attendant saw Reid trying to ignite his shoe. She called for help, and within minutes, a swarm of passengers had pinned him down and were busily tying him up with their belts and neckties.

One of the great lessons to come from the first year of the war on terror is that homeland security necessarily begins at home. It's not enough for us to expect our government to stop every act of terrorism. We all must be willing to do our part.

The terrorists on Flight 93 thought their mission would be so easy, until a group of ordinary people made it so hard.

On airplanes, doing our part is limited to hand-to-hand combat. It's not feasible to let armed passengers aboard aircraft, although allowing pilots to carry guns will have largely the same deterrent effect. But it's a mistake to believe that all future terrorist attacks will be confined to airplanes. And while hand-to-hand combat was sufficient to stop Richard Reid and derail the murderers on Flight 93, sometimes nothing less than a gun will do.

On the morning of July 4, 2002, Hesham Mohamed Hadayet, an Egyptian, left his Orange County apartment for Los Angeles International Airport with two guns and a hunting knife. He proceeded to the El Al ticket counter, where he opened fire on passengers and clerks.

That Hadayet succeeded only in killing two and wounding five is a small miracle. Although the Los Angeles Police Department had beefed up patrols at LAX after 9/11, the deployments had gradually declined. At any airline other than El Al, Hadayet's shooting spree would have been limited only by his supply of ammunition. But the Israeli airline has armed, private security guards at its ticket counters. It was the brave response of those guards—risking their lives for a nominal wage on a national holiday—that prevented Hadayet from killing far more people by shooting him dead.

Unarmed guards would have been impotent against Hadayet's attack. Massive passenger mobilization, the likes of which brought down Flight 93, might have made a difference, but at a far greater cost. Terrorists with guns can only be stopped with other guns.

For all the nation's much-trumpeted beefing up of security at airports and on planes, terrorists will most likely shift their attacks elsewhere—supermarkets, amusement parks, sporting events—the list of potential targets is endless. Because it's unclear where or how terrorists will strike next, it's also virtually impossible for the government to develop the appropriate safeguards for any potential attack.

What is clear is that the terrorists' efforts will be considerably more difficult if they are met with resistance from their intended victims. If that resistance is armed and well-trained, their efforts will be complicated all the more. And if they had good reason to fear such resistance almost anywhere they might strike, their ambitions would be severely dampened.

Our world has changed over the last year, and with it our moral responsibility to defend ourselves. Effective homeland security is not a political abstraction, but an individual duty—a duty to be alert, to be prepared to strike back, and to be willing to do so when called. Cowardice can no longer be an option.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our Values, Iraq's Freedom

Why Democrats should support regime change in Iraq.

By Stephen Solarz

Is a commitment to a regime change in Iraq compatible with the core values of the Democratic Party?

A majority of Democrats in the House and Senate voted against giving President Bush the military power to compel Saddam Hussein to relinquish his weapons of mass destruction and to respect the human rights of his own people. This would suggest that it is not.

But an honest assessment of the Democratic Party's role in shaping foreign policy indicates that the robust internationalism inherent in a dedication to regime change in Iraq is indeed consistent with the Party's principles. Perhaps the best way of determining the core foreign policy values of the two great political parties in the United States is to look at how the Presidents they put in the White House have conducted themselves while in residence at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. Let's review the record:

It was, after all, the Princeton professor who first articulated a commitment to democracy and self-determination as one of the fundamental pillars of American foreign policy; the Hyde Park squire who put the prestige of the United States behind the establishment of the United Nations as the best way of creating a more peaceful world; the man from Missouri who enunciated the Truman doctrine pledging the United States to resist tyranny wherever it raised its ugly head; the New England aristocrat who made nuclear non-proliferation one of his primary objectives; the Texas rancher who committed American forces to the fight for freedom from Central America to Southeast Asia; the peanut farmer from Georgia who made human rights the centerpiece of American foreign policy; and the good ol' boy from Arkansas who signed the legislation making regime change in Iraq the official policy of the United States.

If democracy and self-determination are to have any chance of becoming a reality in Iraq, the removal of the Mesopotamian megalomaniac and his Ba'athist bully boys from their position of power in Baghdad is clearly a necessary, if not sufficient, condition. Put Woodrow Wilson, therefore, on the side of regime change in Iraq.

If the United Nations is going to avoid the fate of the League of Nations and its tragic slide into irrelevance, the relevant U.N. resolutions calling for the elimination of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction will have to be truly implemented. It should be clear by now that the only way to secure the destruction of these demonic devices is through the removal of Saddam Hussein from power. Put Franklin Roosevelt, therefore, on the side of regime change in Iraq.

If Iraq, which has invaded both Iran and Kuwait in its unrelenting bid for regional hegemony, is going to be transformed into a force for peace rather than a platform for war, there is no viable alternative to removing the Tikriti tyrant from his position of power. Put Harry Truman, therefore, on the side of regime change in Iraq.

If Iraq, which has already used chemical and biological weapons against the Iranians and the Kurds, is going to be deprived of its weapons of mass destruction, and prevented from eventually obtaining nuclear weapons as well, Saddam will almost certainly have to be swept into the trashcan of history. It would be nice to think, after two decades of resisting sanctions and blandishments designed to induce him to give up his weapons of mass destruction, that Saddam will finally yield peacefully and voluntarily to the umpteenth U.N. resolution calling on him to do so as he said he will. But it is doubtful that anything short of a new government willing to abide by its international obligations will be able to accomplish this international imperative. Put John F. Kennedy, therefore, on the side of regime change in Iraq.

If the Iraqi people are ever to enjoy the fruits of freedom, which the Ba'ath Party has cruelly and consistently denied them, and if Iraq is going to cease being a threat to regional stability, a new government in Baghdad is an urgent and compelling requirement. The United States would have no quarrel with a democratic Iraq. Put Lyndon Baines Johnson, therefore, on the side of regime change in Iraq.

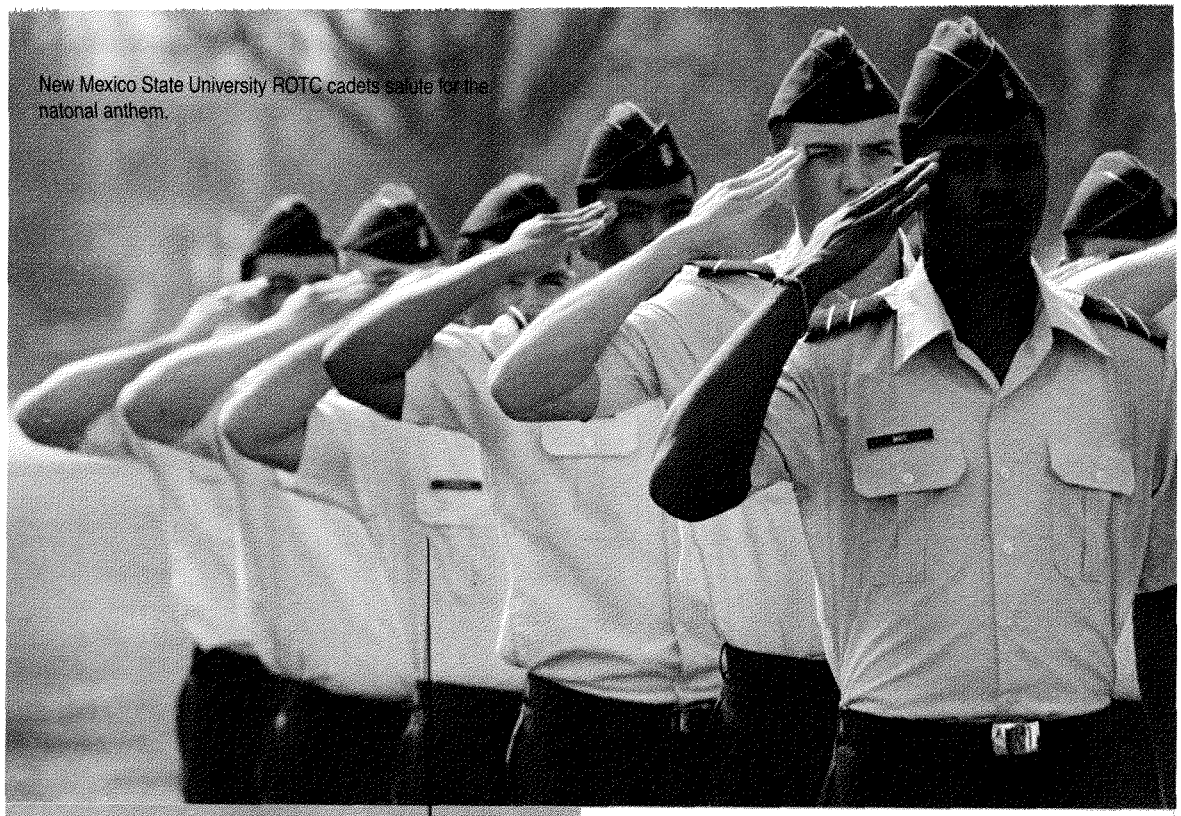
If there is to be any hope for a greater respect for human rights in Iraq, if the systemic repression which has been the hallmark of Saddam's rule is to end, there is no other way to do it than to change the government. If Jimmy Carter, who resisted the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan by providing arms to the *mujahedin*, were faithful to the principles that guided his Presidency, he, too, would be on the side of regime change in Iraq.

If the Iraq Liberation Act, passed almost unanimously by the Congress and signed into law by President Clinton in 1998, is ever to achieve its objective of liberating the Iraqi people from the clutches of one of the foulest tyrannies ever to blot the Middle East, the rule of Saddam Hussein has got to go. Put Bill Clinton, therefore, on the side of regime change in Iraq.

continued on page 59

Stephen Solarz, who served 18 years in Congress, where he was a senior member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, led the fight for the adoption of the Gulf War Resolution in 1991.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



New Mexico State University ROTC cadets salute for the national anthem.

Homeland Security: Restoring Civic Virtue

By Robert Cottrol

The September 11 terrorist attacks did more than bring a tragic end to over 3,000 American lives. They also helped shatter two long-cherished illusions. The first, that we live in a secure homeland, was shared by most Americans. Blessed by geography, twentieth-century Americans came to think of wars as unpleasant events that happened "over there." With the exception of those who witnessed Pearl Harbor, no living American can remember a time when civilians were under enemy attack on American soil. No more. September 11 was a searing indicator that warfare in the twenty-first century will be brutal, indiscriminate, and over here.

The second shattered illusion, that we can avoid violence by being passive, has gained widespread currency among our academic and professional elites. This illusion and its corollary, that the average citizen is too feckless to defend himself, much less participate in the defense of his community, must be shed quickly if American civil society is to survive this new and terrifying century. This will involve rediscovering, and re-defining, the venerable but badly eroded tradition of the citizen soldier. It also means revitalizing the role of the Reserve Officers Training Corps on the nation's campuses.

On the heels of the 9/11 attacks came a new concern for homeland security. As a nation, we present a virtually limitless number of targets for terrorists. We don't have the manpower to guard those targets and also secure our borders, coastlines, harbors, airports, and railway stations while allowing the nation's police forces to do their routine jobs of protecting public safety *and* allowing the armed forces to fulfill their traditional missions of guarding the nation and its allies against conventional or nuclear attack.

Presuming the National Guard will always be available to augment police and military forces as it did immediately after 9/11 is also an illusion. Today's National Guard is so thoroughly integrated into Defense Department contingency planning that it would be impossible for the President to send significant forces into an overseas conflict without substantial deployment of the Guard. Under those circumstances, state and local police, whose ranks would also be depleted because many of their members are military reservists, would find that in addition to their already difficult mission of maintaining public safety, they would be charged with guarding large numbers of potential terrorist targets.

That's why we need a home guard, a group of citizens trained and organized to assist police and military forces in times of crisis, especially when the National Guard has been deployed overseas. This force, unlike the National Guard, should not be subject to long-term service in the armed forces. It should exist exclusively for domestic contingencies, and be used primarily at the local level. There are police auxiliary programs in many communities and some states have State Defense Forces designed to back up the National Guard, but they don't quite meet the need. Training for these forces varies widely. Even worse, there has been little effort to recruit large numbers of

Robert Cottrol, a professor of law and history at George Washington University, is a retired lieutenant colonel in the Air Force Reserve.

AP Photo/Las Cruces Sun-News, Norm Dettlaff

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

young people into these programs and to make participation in them an expected and respected act of civic engagement. Existing auxiliary and defense forces are also problematic because they are purely under state control. While the primary employment of a home guard force would be local, such a force should have dual state and federal control enabling federal authorities to deploy units outside their home states if necessary.

In short, we need to revive the traditional notion of a broad-based citizens' militia, organized and trained to help defend their communities.

So why isn't this idea part of the public debate about terrorism and homeland defense? Part of the answer is bureaucratic inertia. But something more is at work. Strong cultural constraints prevent us from even considering this option. These constraints are evident in the gun control debate, which, boiled down to its essentials, is about whether ordinary people can be trusted to defend themselves and their communities. Ordinary citizens, conventional wisdom goes, should not train to defend themselves, particularly not with guns, not only because resistance might be dangerous, but also because resistance or training for self-defense contributes to a culture of violence.

This view isn't confined to a small group of liberals in the media or the academy. Consider the recent controversy over arming airline pilots. For months Congress and the administration resisted this eminently sensible idea. We don't have, and never will have, enough air marshals for every flight. Almost all airline pilots are college graduates and military veterans. They hold the lives of tens of thousands of passengers and millions of dollars of equipment in their hands every year. Do we really believe that a person who can fly a 747 can't be trained to handle a .38?

One reason for the firm entrenchment of the myth of the feckless citizen is the great gulf that has developed between our university-educated leaders and the armed forces. The end of the draft in 1973 brought with it the end of a longstanding tradition of widespread participation in national and community defense. From 1940 to the late 1960s military experience was common among men of every social class. Not every man was a combat veteran, far from it, but most men learned important lessons even in basic training: that you have unrealized strengths, that you can do more than you thought you could, that you must be dependable and be able to depend on the people in your unit, and, most important of all, that supermen are rare and that the people who are important are ordinary folks who put aside their fears and get the job done. Add to these lessons a few basic skills, safe handling of firearms and rudimentary first aid, and you have a person who has learned how to be an asset instead of a liability in a crisis. Increasingly, military service and these important lessons are unknown among those who teach our college classes, write in the nation's newsrooms, draft memos in law firms, serve in the nation's legislatures, or produce or perform on TV. One consequence is that we readily accept the myth that ordinary citizens do not have a role in protecting society.

What might bridge this chasm? The Reserve Officers Training Corps. ROTC has its origins in the 1862 Morrill Act establishing land grant universities. The idea was to provide a basic military familiarization for all men attending state universities, not just for future officers.This was considered training for citizenship as well as preparation for possible military action. Until the 1960s, all men at land grant universities were required to take the first two years of ROTC. That requirement became a casualty of the anti-military sentiment that swept many campuses in the '60s.

A revival of the notion that ROTC training is an integral part of an education for citizenship and vital for the common defense would be a healthy development. It would help close the dangerous gap between the academic and military cultures, a gap that often leads our soldiers and our scholars to wildly inaccurate misperceptions of each other. A renewed emphasis on ROTC training could also be a way of teaching the critical lessons of military service to an important segment of the young adult population.

Most of all, such a program could provide the basic training for a broad-based citizen militia. Here is how it might work: The state universities, in cooperation with the armed forces, would open the first two years of ROTC to all students on a volunteer basis. Those who sign up for the program would have to agree to serve an additional six years in a home guard program. In return for volunteering, students would receive tuition reduction and a degree of admissions preference. The latter could provide a real incentive for some of our future best and brightest. Voluntary ROTC participation might be the tie-breaker between going to a state's flagship campus or a less-well-regarded school. Of course, state universities should offer similar or greater benefits to veterans.

After completing two years of ROTC, students would serve in the home guard. A revamped Civil Air Patrol, trained and organized to provide back-up security as well as perform its traditional search and rescue mission, would serve admirably in this capacity. Members would spend about two weeks a year to get refresher training in first aid, marksmanship, and other essential skills. Cadre would come from the ranks of military and police retirees. Special efforts would be made to get prominent people in their 20s and 30s to volunteer. Who knows, perhaps the enlistment of a Ben Affleck or a Halle Berry might have the effect on today's twenty-somethings that the enlistments of Jimmy Stewart and Clark Gable had on a previous generation.

September 11, 2001 should cause us to re-think some long-cherished, wrong, and dangerous assumptions. We simply cannot sustain a secure society without widespread participation in the common defense. And academia can no longer remain aloof from and often hostile to those charged with defending the nation. Reconsidering ROTC could be one way of fighting the threats of this new era.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How the West Was Won—And How it Will be Lost

On October 22, 2002, Oriana Fallaci addressed an audience at the American Enterprise Institute. Following are short excerpts from her talk. Ms. Fallaci, a native of Florence, Italy and a life-long journalist, caused turmoil across Europe with the publication of her book The Rage and the Pride, *calling the West to stand up to the Islamic world.*

I don't hide. I never have. I stay at home because I like to stay at home, and at home I work. I have not appeared in public for at least ten years. No interviews, no TV.

Why am I here, then? Because, since September 11, we are at war. Because the front line of that war is here, in America. Because when I was a war correspondent, I liked to be on the front line. And this time, in this war, I do not feel as a war correspondent. I feel as a soldier. The duty of a soldier is to fight. And to fight this war, I deploy a personal weapon. It is not a gun. It's a small book, *The Rage and The Pride.*

My soldier weapon is the weapon of truth. The truth that begins with the truth I maintain in these pages:

"From Afghanistan to Sudan, from Palestine to Pakistan, from Malaysia to Iran, from Egypt to Iraq, from Algeria to Senegal, from Syria to Kenya, from Libya to Chad, from Lebanon to Morocco, from Indonesia to Yemen, from Saudi Arabia to Somalia, the hate for the West swells like a fire fed by the wind. And the followers of Islamic fundamentalism multiply like a protozoa of a cell which splits to become two cells then four then eight then sixteen then thirty-two to infinity. Those who are not aware of it only have to look at the images that the TV brings us every day. The multitudes that impregnate the streets of Islamabad, the squares of Nairobi, the mosques of Tehran. The ferocious faces, the threatening fists. The fires that burn the American flag and the photos of Bush."

"The clash between us and them is not a military clash. Oh, no. It is a cultural one, a religious one. And our military victories do not solve the offensive of Islamic terrorism. On the contrary, they encourage it. They exacerbate it, they multiply it. The worst is still to come."

President Bush has said, "We refuse to live in fear."

Beautiful sentence, very beautiful. I loved it! But inexact, Mr. President, because the West does live in fear. People are afraid to speak against the Islamic world. Afraid to offend, and to be punished for offending, the sons of Allah. You can insult the Christians, the Buddhists, the Hindus, the Jews. You can slander the Catholics, you can spit on the Madonna and Jesus Christ. But, woe betide the citizen who pronounces a word against the Islamic religion.

My small book is not tender with Islam. In certain passages, it is even ferocious. But it is much more ferocious with us: with us Italians, us Europeans, us Americans.

I call my book a sermon—addressed to the Italians, to the Europeans, the Westerners. And along with the rage, this sermon unchains the pride for their culture, my culture. That culture that in spite of its mistakes, its faults, even monstrosi-

AP Photo/Aijaz Rahi

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ties, has given so much to the world. It has moved us from the tents of the deserts and the huts of the woods to the dignity of civilization. It has given us the concept of beauty, of morals, of freedom, of equality. It has made the unique conquest in the social field, in the realm of science. It has wiped out diseases. It has invented all the tools that make life easier and more intelligent, those tools that our enemy can also use, for instance, to kill us. It has brought us to the moon and to Mars, and this cannot be said of the other culture. A culture, which has produced and produces only religion, which in every sense imprisons women inside the *burkah* or the *chador*, which is never accompanied by a drop of freedom, a drop of democracy, which subjugates its people under theocratical, oppressive regimes.

Socrates and Aristotle and Heraclitus were not mullahs. Jesus Christ, neither. Leonardo da Vinci and Michaelangelo, and Galileo, and Copernicus, and Newton and Pasteur and Einstein, the same.

My book is also a *j'accuse*. To accuse us of cowardice, hypocrisy, demagogy, laziness, moral misery, and of all that comes with that. The stupidity of the unbearable fad of political correctness, for instance. The paucity of our schools, our universities, our young people, people who often don't even know the story of their country, the names Jefferson, Franklin, Robespierre, Napoleon, Garibaldi. And no understanding that freedom cannot exist without discipline, self-discipline.

I accuse ourselves also of another crime: the loss of passion. Haven't you understood what drives our enemies? What permits them to fight this war against us? The passion! They have passion! They have so much passion that they can die for it!

Their leaders, too, of course. I met Khomeini. I discussed with him for more than six hours in calm, and I tell you that that man was a man of passion. I never met bin Laden. But I have well observed his eyes. I have well listened to his voice. And I tell you that that man is a man of passion. We have lost passion.

Well, *I* have not. I boil with passion. I, too, am ready to die for passion. But around me, I see no passion. Even those who hate me and attack me and insult me do this without passion. They are mollusks, not men and women. And a civilization, a culture, cannot survive without passion, cannot be saved without passion. If the West does not wake up, if we do not refind passion, we are lost.

To quote from my book:

"The problem is that the solution does not depend upon the death of Osama bin Laden. Because the Osama bin Ladens are too many, by now: as cloned as the sheep of our research laboratories.... In fact, the best trained and the more intelligent do not stay in the Muslim countries... They stay in our own countries, in our cities, our universities, our business companies. They have excellent bonds with our churches, our banks, our televisions, our radios, our newspapers, our publishers, our academic organizations, our unions, our political parties.... Worse, they live in the heart of a society that hosts them without questioning their differences, without checking their bad intentions, without penalizing their sullen fanaticism."

["I]f we continue to stay inert, they will become always more and more. They will demand always more and more, they will vex and boss us always more and more. 'Til the point of subduing us. Therefore, dealing with them is impossible. Attempting a dialogue, unthinkable. Showing indulgence, suicidal. And he or she who believes the contrary is a fool."

This is what I write about Europe: "Identical [are our] faults, the cowardices, the hypocrisies. Identical the blindness, the deafness, the lack of wisdom, the masochism.... Identical the ignorance and the lack of leadership that favors the Muslim invasion. Identical the fad of the Politically Correct that encourages it. To believe me, you only have to observe the financial club you proudly call European Union. A club that only serves to impose the rhetorical nonsense called common currency...to pay fabulous and undeserved salaries (tax free) to the members of its inept and useless Parliament....

"A club that shelters more than 15 million sons of Allah and God knows how many of their terrorists... A club that fornicates like a whore with the Arab countries and fills its pockets with their filthy petrodollars. The same petrodollars with which the Saudi Uncle Scrooges buy our ancient palaces, our banks, our commercial and industrial firms. A club, moreover, that dares to speak of cultural similarities with the Middle East.... [Y]ou chatterers, you mentally retarded[!] Where the hell is the cultural similarity with the Middle East, you cretins, you silly clowns?!? At Mecca? At Bethlehem, at Gaza, at Damascus, at Beirut?!? At Cairo, at Tripoli, at Nairobi, at Tehran, at Baghdad, at Kabul?!?

"When I was very young, about 17 or so, I longed so much for a united Europe! I came from a war in which the [Europeans] had pitilessly slaughtered each other: remember? The damned Second World War. Plunged up to his neck in the brand-new struggle, my father preached the European Federalism.... He held rallies, he spoke to the crowds, he chanted: 'Europe! Europe! We must make Europe!'"

"But this frustrating and disappointing and insignificant Financial Club...[with] its sons of Allah who want to erase my civilization, this European Union, which chatters of Cultural-Similarities-with-the-Middle-East and meanwhile ignores my beautiful language, meanwhile sacrifices my national identity, is not the Europe I dreamed of when my father chanted, Europe-Europe. It is not Europe. It is the suicide of Europe."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Life and Times of Flavius

By Seth Cropsey

In 1995, I started the Adobe Foundation. Adobe operates an orphanage for abandoned children in Santana, Romania that opened its doors in 1998.

By March of that year, I'd already done many things outside the usual career path of Washington policy wonks: navigate post-communist bureaucracies in pursuit of a license to operate a home for children; bargain with the mayor and businessmen for possession of Santana's sole remaining international phone line; pick up hitchhiking gypsy musicians with the intent of having them perform in the car (they did). Now I would bring home the infants to be cared for at the orphanage, Casa Adobe.

In the nearest hospital in Arad, I was escorted by the exceptionally capable doctor who cared for the smallest abandoned children, as we walked from room to room of screaming infants in white metal beds. Half were crying; a third were asleep. The rest were being fed, changed, or exhibiting what Europeans call hospitalismus—head banging, rocking, and other symptoms of prolonged institutionalization. (Conditions have much improved in this and similar facilities since then.)

A little one with dark curls and brown eyes was on his tummy, his head up, looking about, and—remarkably—giggling and burbling as though he thought life was just dandy. I picked him up; he grinned and cooed. "Who is this little boy?" I asked. He was Flavius, and almost five months old.

We brought him to Adobe just shy of his first birthday in October 1998. He had a curious habit the first few days of opening his mouth and sticking his tongue out without apparent cause. But he had a major-league appetite, an exceptionally sunny disposition, and his sense of humor was completely intact.

He also loved music. Adobe soon had two infants, Flavius and a blue-gray-eyed beauty, Laura, who is one month younger. I gave the infants their bottles in the evening, and listened to music seated in an old rocker. Laura liked the music and found it soothing. Flavius turned his head toward the speakers and smiled when Bach's Goldberg Variations and Beethoven's cello sonatas played. He waved his hands around to Sousa marches.

Later, Flavius crawled up to the speakers. When he started to walk, he stood in front of them moving his body and hands to the music.The live-in house parents taught all the children traditional Romanian folk songs. Flavius inhaled these and turned out to have a strong clear voice and good pitch—unusual in small children.

This past September, on one of my many visits to Casa Adobe, about two months short of Flavius' fifth birthday, I learned that he had been picked from 27 children as one of five finalists for a music competition. I was pleased, not only for Flavius, but also because this would be the first real community event in the town's recent history. Communism did not encourage a sense of community.

So one bright Sunday afternoon I joined the crowd of parents, children, school teachers, administrators, businessmen, and the mayor himself in a jammed room near the center of town. There were 30 performers ages four to 15. Flavius's

Photo courtesy of Seth Cropsey

group, the youngest, went first. All the kids had learned their lines. Some of them were taken aback by the size of the crowd. Flavius went last. He marched up to the emcee and seized the mike.

Flavius laughed and moved his body to the music. He twirled his hands during the refrain. It was a traditional song about a bunny. He hopped. He wrinkled his nose. He modulated his voice to the song's story. The audience clapped in unison, and he responded with more laughter and flashing eyes. He got a cheering ovation, and was plainly delighted by his own performance and the audience reaction. The mayor and state orphanage director reached over and shook my hand. I cried and laughed. But I had a dinner to attend that evening in Arad and had to leave before the judges announced their verdict. "What?" asked the state orphanage director, "you're not going to wait to see who won?" In my heart I knew that in the most important way Flavius had already won.

I returned from the big city later that night. Flavius had taken first prize.

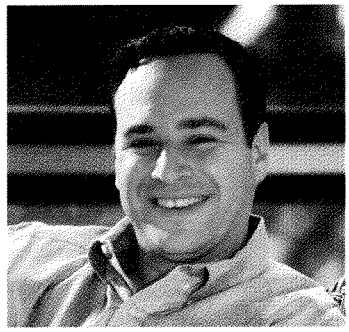
His victory convinced the town's best music teacher to accept our invitation to give music lessons to all Adobe children. Adobe will help her as much as possible with future community events. And, I'm busily planning Flavius's stage career.

Seth Cropsey is director of international broadcasting for the U.S. government.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Working Lunch

Wisdom…is social. She seeks her fellows—Thomas Jefferson



Frum the Right

David Frum, a Harvard educated lawyer, is one of the most iconoclastic and outspoken pundits in Washington. From an almost universally admired book about the culture of the 1970s to a sometimes snarky, always perceptive, daily journal for National Review Online, *his writing has won fans all across the political spectrum. Between 2000 and 2002, Frum served as a speechwriter in the Bush administration. Currently, he is a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute. His next book—the first major memoir to come out of the Bush White House—will appear in the first week of 2003. He spoke with* TAE *senior editors Eli Lehrer and Karina Rollins in his office at AEI.*

TAE: What's your assessment of how well President Bush is doing on the war on terror?

FRUM: He has probably fallen below the standard of perfection but we don't ask for perfection. The country has a degree of foreign policy consensus unlike anything that any living person has ever seen. Although I'm sure there will be many setbacks and disappointments along the way, I think he has brought the war to the enemy. He will successfully destroy the terror regimes and he will track down and find and kill the authors of the September 11 attacks.

TAE: You have a new book coming out in January called *The Right Man: The Surprise Presidency of George W. Bush.* Can you tell us about it?

FRUM: The book is a character sketch of President Bush, told from the point of view of someone who got to know him only at the time of the election. I had not worked on his campaign, I hadn't had a connection with him beforehand, I had absolutely not expected to be working for him. I had a lot of hesitation about taking the job. So the book is a story of him, but it's also a story of how one person changed his understanding of Bush and came to feel respect for this President as the right man for this job in this time.

TAE: Do Americans have the backbone for an extended war on terror, and will they be willing to make sacrifices?

FRUM: Yes! Emphatically yes. In many ways the sacrifices and risks that are going to be demanded of them during the war on terror are much less than those demanded of them during the Cold War. President Bush is asking Americans for about 4 percent of the gross domestic product for defense and security. During the Cold War they paid, at various points, two and a half times as much. The risks are nothing like the risks Americans faced between the 1950s and 1980s, when their cities were targeted by weapons of megadeath. Americans have proven themselves superbly resilient, very patient, and very brave.

TAE: You recently wrote that, "September 11 killed the race card in the U.S. and has made it more patriotic in general." How steadfast is this patriotism? Many would say that the newfound unity after 9/11 has already begun to crumble.

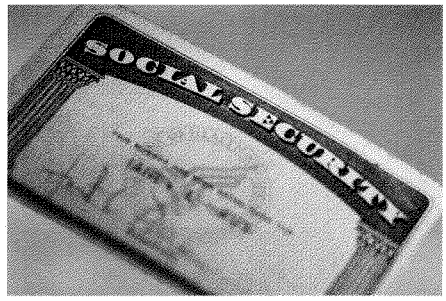
FRUM: The mood after 9/11 was so exalted and so unusual. Obviously, you cannot live forever in that kind of intense patriotism. We had to get back to politics as normal in which the actions of the government are constantly held up to scrutiny. As to race, I think you see that the two African-American candidates who tried to get ahead by unscrupulous means—Cynthia McKinney and Earl Hilliard—were both repudiated in primaries in overwhelmingly black districts. They were replaced by other liberal Democrats but not people who are not into the racial nationalism that McKinney and Hilliard tried to appeal to.

TAE: You wrote in another recent article that the Muslim community in North America must be "the first line of defense against Islamic terror." But will this happen? The Yemeni community in Buffalo turned in six terror suspects, but it split their whole community. What other evidence is there to believe that Muslims in the U.S. will, indeed, be this first line of defense?

FRUM: I didn't say they will be. I said they must be. I am somebody who does not believe in the "Conflict of Civilizations" explanation of this war. The evil ideas of Osama bin Laden have as much Western as Eastern provenance. That Muslims have moved to the West means that they like things about the West that are deeply connected to Western values. Choices are going to have to be made. We have to jettison this multiculturalism of the 1990s that says "All beliefs are equally valid; all cultures and all ways of doing things are just as good." We do need to reaffirm what we believe in.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Political Economist



Modernize America While Rescuing New York

By Karl Zinsmeister

The new Republican government in Washington will find it easier to accomplish great things if it can draw new constituencies to its agenda. Here's my suggestion for a perfect place to start. It offers Congress and the President a chance to solve two serious public problems in a single blow.

Problem Number One is the economic damage wrought by the 9/11 terror attacks. New York City in particular was zapped—to the tune of as much as $95 billion in lost wealth, 146,000 lost jobs, and a $6 billion deficit looming for 2003, according to the city comptroller. For obvious reasons, the politicians most worried about this are liberal Democrats like Hillary Clinton and Manhattanite Charles Rangel, top Democrat on the House Ways and Means Committee. But there are stakes in this for all Americans: After all, New York was damaged in an act of war. And if the city falls into a financial crisis, as is now distinctly possible, that could drag down the entire national economy.

Problem Number Two is the looming bankruptcy of our Social Security system. In little more than a dozen years, Social Security will start to gush red ink—to the tune of tens, and then hundreds, of billions of dollars. Without bold reform, we'll either have to hike payroll taxes by 50 percent, or cut benefits by over a quarter. The sooner we get started on a fix, the less painful the financial math will be.

A very different set of politicians is pushing for Social Security reform. In the last election it was Republicans like Elizabeth Dole, Jim Talent, Norm Coleman, John Sununu, and Lindsey Graham who promised new personal investment accounts that would let future recipients tap the power of long-term investing. Democrats kicked and screamed.

Of course, the Big Daddy of advocates for personal investment accounts within Social Security is President Bush. He ran prominently on that issue in 2000, and one of his early acts as President was to set up a commission under Pat Moynihan and the current CEO of AOL Time Warner to further promote the idea. Mr. Bush would love to update Social Security as his great legacy to American social history.

Which leads directly to my magic plan: The possibility of personal Social Security accounts mobilizes Republicans. New York's urban financial crunch motivates Democrats. So why don't we connect those two dots?

Keep in mind that the locomotive pulling the entire economy in New York (and many other big cities) is the investment industry. As former New York mayor Ed Koch told me a few months ago, "Wall Street is to New York City what steel was to Pittsburgh." The financial services sector is the largest employer in the New York metro area, and accounts for more than half of the city's job growth, earnings increases, and tax revenue jumps in recent years, according to the office of Democratic state comptroller Carl McCall.

Since about 40 percent of all American investment activity takes place in New York City, I suggest the best thing politicians could do to put terror-damaged New York back on its financial feet would be to fire up our investment economy. Specifically, Hillary, Charlie Rangel, and other liberals should stop kicking and screaming, and embrace personal Social Security accounts.

Do the math. It's estimated that, given a chance, Americans would open up 50 million new investment accounts with part of their Social Security withholdings. Assuming they re-channel $1,000 per year into such accounts and earn the historical average for stock and bond funds, Americans will build up a collective nest egg of more than $700 billion within a decade.

That will be very good for everyday citizens seeking a piece of the American dream of long-term wealth. It will *also* be very good for the Wall Street firms who manage our private savings—guaranteeing a healthy private sector in New York City. Helping Manhattan recover from its al-Qaeda wounds that way surely beats a charity bailout.

Offer millions of everyday workers a chance to become capitalists for the first time in their lives, and you'll thrill Republicans. Give a big boost to the urban economy in New York (as well as Boston, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and other cities dependent on the financial services industry) and you'll please Democrats.

Here is a chance for liberals and conservatives in Washington to join together next year and kill two big, bad birds with the one mighty stone of Social Security reform. What're we waiting for?

Karl Zinsmeister is editor in chief of The American Enterprise.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Flashback

To know nothing of what happened before you were born is to remain ever a child—Cicero

Courtesy Maryland State Archives

Luther Martin's Theses

Martin Luther launched a Reformation, Martin Luther King got a national holiday, yet what does their nominal inversion, Luther Martin, get? No respect!

Luther Martin of Maryland, perhaps the finest lawyer at the Constitutional Convention, is remembered if at all as a loquacious drunk who bored the other Founders silly in that Philadelphia summer of 1787. That's what happens when a man chooses the losing side.

Historians have not been kind to the anti-Federalists, the misleading name slapped on those who opposed ratification of the new Constitution. They have generally been written off as bucolic bumpkins unable to grasp the exquisiteness of the Madisonian argument or as agrarian radicals motivated by antipathy toward wealth, commerce, and fine clothing.

Luther Martin has gotten an especially bad posthumous press. He has been called: "Slovenly, often drunk and in debt." "Without grace or bearing of speech." "Impulsive, undisciplined, altogether the wild man of the Convention." He was a "notorious reprobate genius," in Henry Adams's words, who delivered a two-day harangue to the Convention with "much diffuseness and considerable vehemence," as Madison noted snottily.

Okay, so he was a long-winded dipsomaniac. But what did he say?

Martin, who served as Maryland's attorney general for 30 years, lodged objections to almost every aspect of the Constitution. The House of Representatives with its proportional representation would allow the larger states to control the government and employ the behemoth to God knows what ends. The Senate was just as flawed. States could not recall refractory senators like under the Articles of Confederation, and the six-year term was so long that members would shift their allegiance to the national government: "If he has a family, he will take his family with him to the place where the government shall be fixed, that will become his home, and...his future views and prospects will center in the favours and emoluments...of the general government."

Martin scorned the President as a virtual monarch, thanks to his power of appointment and role as Commander in Chief. The national judiciary, he predicted, would eventually strip state and local governments of power, making them subjects of the omnipotent central state.

Since a republican government "is only suited to a small and compact territory," Martin condemned the clause requiring a state's consent before new states could be formed within its boundaries. He warned that some day, national tax collectors would harass citizens, invade their homes, and "sluice them at every vein as long as they have a drop of blood."

Martin noted, with exasperation, that the Constitution failed to grant the national government one essential power: that to ensure "the gradual abolition of slavery." For if the document was not quite a compact with the devil, as William Lloyd Garrison would famously charge, it did not comprehend that the Lord "views with equal eye the poor African slave and his American master."

Martin left Philadelphia and campaigned against ratification. In later years, he became an arch-Federalist—"the Federal Bull-Dog," Jefferson called him. Martin returned the insult: To the end of his life, his most damning malediction was "as great a scoundrel as Thomas Jefferson."

Chief Justice Roger Taney remembered poor Martin as habitually drunk, a man who "seemed to take pleasure in showing his utter disregard of good taste and refinement in his dress and language and...manner of eating." Yet, Taney added, "he was a profound lawyer" who left posterity this caution: "The whole history of mankind proves that...government is constantly encroaching on the small pittance of rights reserved by the people to themselves, and gradually wresting them out of their hands."

Luther Martin's post-Convention career is evidence that even alcoholics can be productive citizens. He served as defense counsel for impeached Supreme Court Justice Samuel Chase and for Aaron Burr in his 1807 treason trial. He argued the landmark 1819 case of *McCulloch v. Maryland* on behalf of his state. "Amid the chaff," said Justice Joseph Story of Martin, "is excellent wheat."

In 1822, penniless and demented, Martin was paid an even greater compliment. The state of Maryland levied a five dollar fee on all lawyers; the monies collected were for "the use of Luther Martin."

Whatever his quirks, Luther Martin had always been faithful to Maryland, and in the end, his Maryland repaid that faith. —Bill Kauffman

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Beat the Press

The hand that rules the press...rules the country—Judge Learned Hand

Free Speech Rots from the Inside Out

There's a TV commercial currently running in Washington, D.C. and, for all I know, nationally. It features a bunch of young hipsters using everyday trash as musical instruments. "Never throw away anything you can use to express yourself!" says the voiceover. That pretty well sums up the state of today's culture.

This fetishization of free expression also shows up in the white-knuckled phobia of censorship that has permeated our media and institutions. From the American Library Association's insistence that every branch library must allow unfettered access to Internet pornography, to the propagandistic "Read a Banned Book" T-shirts sold by activists, to the ponderous newspaper editorials which butcher Martin Niemoeller's "first they came for the Jews" warning every time a museum is criticized for another dung-and-urine desecration of the Virgin Mary, America has convinced itself that we are a hair's breadth away from *Fahrenheit 451*. Among elites, unfettered self-expression is the highest good, and even the most innocuous forms of censorship are presented as evil by definition.

It's understandable that people in the First Amendment business would be protective of their franchise. And, yes, free expression is good and nice and important. But, the entire culture, particularly the media, has been brainwashed to believe that censorship is always and everywhere a threat to our very freedom. When I tell college audiences that I favor censorship, the gasps of shock from liberal and conservative students alike nearly suck in the walls and pull the ceiling down.

I ask these kids "Do you think ABC should be allowed to run triple-X porn on Saturday morning?" Well, if you say no, then you believe in censorship. Similarly if you think strip clubs can be zoned, kiddie-porn banned, and copyright laws enforced, you support censorship. (Copyright laws are one of the oldest forms of censorship: They bar people from disseminating someone else's work without permission. Try to release a movie starring Mickey Mouse or Snoopy and you'll see how quickly a court orders you to stop.) And, once we establish that you support some censorship, the question isn't whether you are for or against it, but how much censorship you want and where you want it.

The fact is that the Founding Fathers were not "against" censorship. The First Amendment is a prohibition against the federal government restricting a free press. Few if any of the Founders would be troubled by obscenity laws. The problem today is that the First Amendment has been thoroughly butchered, with editorialists at the *New York Times* swinging some of the biggest cleavers.

Consider these editorial positions which reflect the general schizophrenia regarding free expression and censorship. The *New York Times* is in favor of the federal government forcing tobacco companies to pay for speech that is directly inimical to their interests. But when the Clinton administration wanted to reward TV networks for running anti-drug messages, the *Times* declared: "In allowing government to shape or even to be consulted on content in return for financial rewards, the networks are crossing a dangerous line they should not cross. On the far side of that line lies the possibility of censorship and state-sponsored propaganda."

Censorship today is simply defined as censorship we don't *like*. Censorship we do like is "responsible policy." This kind of thinking is a cancer on the very idea of free speech. The *Times* (and the *Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, et al.) favors campaign finance laws which sharply regulate the only speech the Founders considered sacrosanct—political speech. Today, anonymous political speech is called "stealth advertising" and the *Times* wants it banned. The *Federalist Papers* were anonymous. Tom Paine's *Common Sense* would have to be filed with the FEC today. Yet while the big media companies (and the Democrats) claim that such draconian regulations are vital to the existence of the republic, they champion an absolutist right of free expression in matters of culture. Cuts in subsidies for "performance art" or feces smeared on canvas are seen as, gasp, "censorship" by a bunch of fascistic prudes.

Americans generally protect fringe freedoms in order to keep core freedoms safe. But here we treat the fringe as the core and the core as the fringe. Vile obscenity is a testament to the beauty of free expression, but free democratic debate is to be censored. Free speech in America is rotting from the inside out.

—Jonah Goldberg

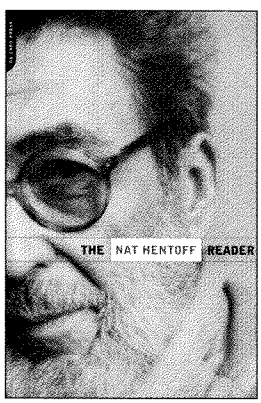
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BookTalk

INDEPENDENT THINKER

By Jesse Walker

The Nat Hentoff Reader
By Nat Hentoff
Da Capo Press, 322 pages, $16.50



Nat Hentoff is best known as a fervent civil libertarian and an enthusiastic jazz critic. Both qualities are on display in *The Nat Hentoff Reader*, though they do not always take the form one might expect. Those who think Hentoff's interest in music is limited to jazz will be surprised to read his excellent profile of country music giant Merle Haggard—though the jazz aficionado in him can't resist pointing to the strong influence of jazz and blues on Haggard's work.

Nor, for that matter, does the civil libertarian disappear when Hentoff speaks as cultural critic. If a writer advocates the right to speak freely, it makes sense that he would reserve special praise for those who've made a career of expressing themselves, be they a country singer like Haggard, a jazz player like Lester Young, a stand-up satirist like Lenny Bruce, or—more obscurely—a TV producer like Robert Herridge. (If the measure of an essay's worth is how much new information one gleans from it, then Hentoff's appreciation of Herridge was, for me, the most worthy chapter in this book.)

For many readers, though, Hentoff's appreciation for civil liberties will take its most surprising form when he shares his thoughts on Supreme Court justice Clarence Thomas. Hentoff notes Thomas's deficiencies, but also declares that he "has written as boldly and uncompromisingly in celebration of the First Amendment as did Justices William O. Douglas and William Brennan, Jr. in days of yore." Meanwhile, liberal hero Bill Clinton gets repeated drubbings for his poor Constitutional record.

Hentoff also turns his attention to race, abortion, and other matters of public policy. Hentoff is one of the few prominent liberals to be openly pro-life. In one essay, Hentoff complains about the Democratic Party's treatment of the late Pennsylvania governor Robert Casey, who, though solidly liberal on economic issues, became *persona non grata* for his anti-abortion stance. A warm remembrance of John Cardinal O'Connor voices the same criticism of the Democrats.

But the most interesting piece about abortion isn't really about abortion at all. "The Awful Privacy of Baby Doe" describes those doctors who kill babies that have actually been born, on the grounds that their birth defects would render their lives not worth living.

Hentoff agrees that there are some extreme cases where it would be better to allow the infant to die—cases where there simply is no chance for survival, and where heroic measures to extend its life by a day or two would merely increase its suffering. But in the perverse utilitarian calculus that Hentoff condemns, Down's syndrome or spina bifida are sufficient grounds to declare, as two doctors did in 1973, that the babies "have little or no hope for achieving meaningful 'humanhood.'"

Hentoff's reader does suffer from some odd choices. It is not, as the title implies, a sampling of all the phases and concerns of his career. Nor can it be fairly said to contain, as the back cover asserts, "his most important writings of the past 20 years." (Some essays from the '80s are included, but there is a strong bias in favor of the last few years.) A proper "Nat Hentoff Reader" would extend back to the '50s. It would also include a more varied selection of his writings, which after all have appeared in such disparate forms as a young adult novel and the liner notes to a Bob Dylan album.

The best thing about Nat Hentoff is that he says what he thinks without concern for whether anyone agrees with him. Far too many public intellectuals don't seem to know what independent thinking means. They, more than anyone else, could profit from *The Nat Hentoff Reader*.

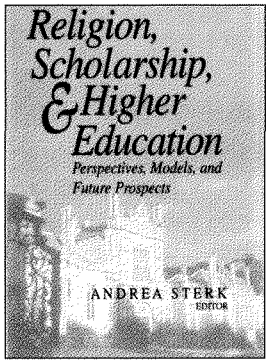
Jesse Walker, associate editor at Reason, is author of Rebels on the Air: An Alternative History of Radio in America.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GOD AND MAN AT COLLEGE

By Naomi Schaefer

Religion, Scholarship, & Higher Education: Perspectives, Models, and Future Prospects
Edited by Andrea Sterk
University of Notre Dame Press,
256 pages, $14.95



When Nancy Ammerman told her professors in the late 1970s that she wanted to write a dissertation on religious fundamentalism, she reports that they "were not so much opposed as quizzical: 'Religion. Hmm. How quaint. I suppose one could study that.'" Ammerman, now a professor of sociology and religion at Hartford Seminary, explains, "Religion had simply passed off their radar screens as a subject of study."

Almost all of the contributors to the new collection *Religion, Scholarship & Higher Education*, agree with Ammerman's assessment. And it was not just religion as a topic of study that had disappeared from secular colleges, but the religious perspective in its entirety.

Many of the participants in the Lilly Seminar on Religion and Higher Education who produced these essays recall when they first felt this absence. Jean Bethke Elshtain, a professor of social and political ethics at the University of Chicago, writes of the turbulent mid 1960s as a time when "many of us were struggling to understand what was going on and to sort out just where we 'fit' in the midst of all this. Who were we anyway—as a people, as singular persons? But with a rare few exceptions, none of my graduate courses in political science addressed any of these matters."

The fact that schools of thought such as behaviorism and then rational-choice theory stripped the liberal arts of any of these important considerations is a common theme in the collection. Sociologist Alan Wolfe "confess[es] to being flabbergasted by the popularity" of these "reductionist" models.

Most of the writers believe religion is making a comeback in the academy. John McGreevey, who teaches history at Notre Dame, identifies one way in which this change occurred: "The most compelling advocates for a religious 'perspective' have used the opening created by the postmodern or historicist turn to press their case." In other words, as the academy began to reach a consensus that being black or being a woman altered one's perspective in a way that scholars needed to consider, it also began to acknowledge the importance of specifically Catholic, Protestant, or Jewish viewpoints.

Many of the contributors to this volume address the potential pitfalls of this logic as well. Even McGreevey acknowledges, "I'm not convinced that framing religious perspectives as yet another assault on universal reason is the best strategy."

Of course, while "mainstream" scholars have struggled to bring religious perspectives and topics back into the academy, religious schools never lost them. Only in recent years, though, have they been considered serious alternatives to secular colleges.

Entering college as a student in 1960, Alan Wolfe writes he "knew that there were religious institutions of higher education, although it never occurred to me to [attend] one. Catholic universities…were best known for their basketball teams, while their academic qualities, as far as I could see, lay more in conveying dogma than in understanding the world…. I barely knew that Protestant institutions existed, and when I discovered one for the first time…and learned of the strict rules governing campus life, I could not believe that the place was in the twentieth century. As for Jewish universities, they were not even on my family's radar screen, since the whole point of being Jewish was to succeed in secular America."

Now Wolfe believes that as far as "combin[ing] professionalism with ultimate questions…faith-based institutions have done at least as well, if not better, than secular institutions." More and more students seem to believe the same: Enrollment at the almost 100 member institutions of the Council for Christian Colleges and Universities jumped a remarkable 24 percent between 1990 and 1996. (CCCU members are four-year liberal arts colleges committed to teaching Christian doctrine, hiring only professors who share the faith, and providing a Christian atmosphere outside the classroom.)

Though there are many reasons for the increased popularity of religious colleges—parents' desire that schools keep a closer eye on their kids, the growing population of seriously religious young evangelicals and Mormons, and the better academic reputations of some religious schools—the most powerful one that emerges from this collection is the longing of students to be able to examine the important questions, the ones Elshtain complains were missing from her classes 40 years ago.

Susan Handelman, a professor of English at Bar-Ilan University in Israel cites a number of letters her students wrote to one another in a literature and religion class when she was teaching at the University of Maryland. Caleb laments, "nothing in my studies has ever given me sufficient reason for pause. Nothing in my life has 'arrested the senses.'" Nat, a philosophy major writes, "I hope you all find the answers you are looking for. And if you do, please e-mail me because I am so tired of asking paradoxically unanswerable questions that at this point I'm pretty much open to anything you got."

The essays in *Religion, Scholarship, &*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Higher Education cover a wide variety of topics, from whether religious beliefs affect students' relationships with their teachers to how faith can influence the interpretation of poetry, and they each make a worthwhile contribution.

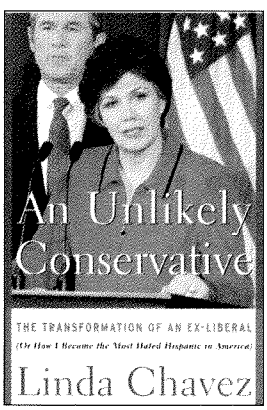
But the collection represents a much more important development for Nat and Caleb, and so many more: Religion is back on the academic radar screen.

TAE *contributing writer Naomi Schaefer is writing a book on religious colleges.*

WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN . . .

By Eric Cox

An Unlikely Conservative: The Transformation of an Ex-Liberal (Or How I Became the Most Hated Hispanic in America)
By Linda Chavez
Basic Books, 255 pages, $26



In January 2002, Linda Chavez withdrew her nomination to serve as President Bush's secretary of labor. At her press conference—after which reporters described her as defiant, impenitent, narcissistic, and duplicitous—Chavez conceded that she should have disclosed to the Bush transition team that she had once harbored an illegal alien.

It was the public revelation of this fact (by Chavez's former neighbor, who happened to be a Democratic Party donor and the sister of ABC News correspondent Terry Moran) that eventually brought down the Chavez nomination and proved an early, embarrassing political setback to the Bush administration.

Chavez's account of this episode in her new book, *An Unlikely Conservative*, is surprisingly unapologetic. She maintains that knowingly housing an illegal immigrant should not disqualify anyone from serving as labor secretary. Chavez also chose not to defend her position. Instead, she blames a hostile press and political foes who would have used any excuse to sabotage her confirmation.

She is undoubtedly right on both counts. But her refusal to refute the merits of the case against her suggests that she believes there are none, which is either a slight aimed at her conservative critics, or a remarkable display of political naivete.

The same two possibilities are raised by Chavez's admission that she was asked early on by the Bush transition team whether she had a "nanny problem." Chavez cagily answered that she didn't—the Guatemalan houseguest in question was not a nanny—even though she knew that situation could be used against her in a confirmation battle. Chavez thought she could prevent such an outcome by asking her former neighbor to keep quiet, which is the incident that led to her downfall.

In contrast to her tortured account of the nomination fiasco, the chapters about Chavez's early career are truly inspiring. Even as a dedicated liberal Democrat, she advanced the conservative cause in many of the great political debates of the 1970s and '80s: affirmative action and racial quotas, the rise of identity politics and the corruption of the civil rights campaign, the sexual revolution, the Reagan arms build-up and "nuclear freeze" crusade, "English only," welfare reform, school choice, and moral values education. Chavez did not change her position on any of these issues; she realized, like Reagan before her, that her party had abandoned her.

The experience of teaching a "Chicano" literature class in 1971 as a graduate student at UCLA, Chavez writes, was the first of many that eventually convinced her that most government programs intended to help people, like affirmative action, actually accomplish the opposite. Chavez was assigned to the class solely because she looked Hispanic (her mother is Anglo, and Chavez could speak only broken Spanish).

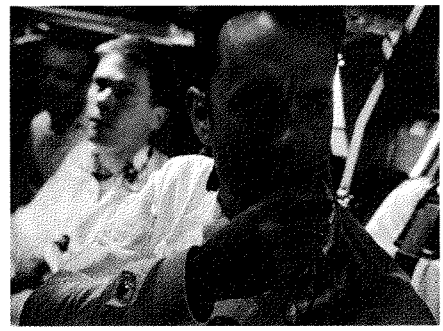
Chavez was tormented by a group of militant Hispanic students hostile to her for taking her Jewish husband's last name, speaking perfect English, and assigning a few books by white authors. She recounts many subsequent episodes in which she has been the target of rage. Her crimes: challenging the Hispanic community to reject the politics of victimization and focus on getting an education; to learn English; to join the dominant America culture; and to debate opponents with rational arguments, not intimidation.

Chavez has never shied away from a fight she believed in. In her brief epilogue, she vows that she will not allow the derailment of her nomination to prevent her from challenging the power of union leaders, for which purpose she has formed an organization called Stop Union Political Abuse. It is unclear whether Chavez would have been able to accomplish any of her stated goals as labor secretary: Taking on her own departmental bureaucracy would have been a formidable challenge in itself. Nonetheless, it would have been enjoyable to see her try.

Linda Chavez has been publicly humiliated, and her book—though fair and straightforward—is not likely to win back any friends in the Bush administration. That's a true shame for both sides. For Linda Chavez represents everything the administration could ever hope for in reaching out to its most prized constituency.

Eric Cox is managing editor of the Hudson Institute's American Outlook.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Tom Hanks as Jim Lovell in Apollo 13.

Imax: Bigger, Better, Breathtaking

The American maxim that bigger is better is often uttered with a tinge of irony, but a new movie trend has so far proved the theory. Three Hollywood hits —*Apollo 13, Star Wars Episode II: Attack of the Clones*, and *The Lion King*—have recently been reformatted for large-screen Imax theaters, with promising results. And why not? After all, what's more natural than a bigger blockbuster?

The Imax genre has long been a cinematic wasteland, mostly littered with the sort of simplistic documentaries and childish dramas you wouldn't wish on the kids of your worst enemy. Governed by a mandate to make the most of the huge screen and state-of-the-art sound system, Imax films almost always emphasize spectacle over substance. Usually they don't even bother with a story, but in those few cases in which a narrative exists, the visuals crudely overwhelm it.

For all their love of spectacle, the best Hollywood movies know that story matters. Bringing those stories to Imax theaters, however, takes some reworking. For *Apollo 13*, the original 35mm film frames were converted into digital form, which enables technicians to remove the graininess, sharpen the images, and adjust the colors. Once the frames were remastered to large-format specifications, they were transferred to the standard 70mm Imax film size. (Since *Attack of the Clones* was shot with digital cameras, the producers of the Imax version didn't have to bother with the first step.)

In both cases we're given much more than a bigger picture. *Apollo 13*, a recreation of NASA's aborted and near-fatal 1970 trip to the moon, with Tom Hanks as veteran astronaut Jim Lovell, remains a stirring salute to the bravery and ingenuity of the pioneers of America's space program. What's emphasized even more in the Imax version is the immensity of their challenge. When Lovell and his men are stranded in space, the seemingly endless expanse of the Imax screen makes their predicament feel all the more dire.

The scenes with more visceral power—as when the Apollo 13's rocket flames engulf the theater—are exciting without drowning out the moments of quieter drama. Thanks to its gripping narrative, the movie is just as thrilling when the engineers at the command center desperately try to cobble together a rescue mission with little more than spare parts and a chalkboard. While heightening its audio-visual powers, *Apollo 13: The Imax Experience* remains true to the integrity of the original.

Attack of the Clones, the latest installment in George Lucas's ongoing space saga, is a rich, ominous addition to the series, and a crowning technical achievement. The latter quality is fully on display here, even more so than during the digital presentations that took place this summer in select theaters.

Lucas has always been adept at immersing moviegoers in the worlds he's created, a skill that reaches its full potential with Imax technology. The screen bursts with details that would go unnoticed in a conventional venue, such as the intricate cityscape that flies by during an early chase sequence, or the glint that's been painstakingly added to a computer-animated character's eye. And then there's the sound, a rushing wave of otherworldly noises, most notable during a spaceship battle featuring reverbrating sonic charges. When the visual and aural effects combine in a climactic scene—as in a lightsaber duel—the screen takes on the abstract beauty of an experimental film, with slashing lights and sizzling sound effects whirling throughout the theater. Regular venues present Lucas's vision; Imax theaters recreate it.

Are there drawbacks to these Imax versions? Like any new technology, it has its limitations. The two-hour running time (Imax film platters only hold 120 minutes of footage) meant losing sequences from *Star Wars* and *Apollo 13*. Also, there should be an embargo on headshots, considering they come across as inert monstrosities in a large-format theater. The lengthy dialogues in *Clones* are already one of the film's weakest points, and they become only more glaring when Anakin Skywalker's face takes up the entire screen.

Even so, these recent undertakings point to a new era for the Imax genre. *Star Wars* and *Apollo 13* played in Imax theaters this past fall, while *The Lion King*—the second such venture for Walt Disney Pictures, which released a large-format version of *Beauty and the Beast* in 2001—opens on Christmas Day. In all three cases, the best of Hollywood gets an extended life in the larger format. If studios continue to be smart about the films they offer—there's no need for a giant *Scooby-Doo*—it may even lead to an expansion of the art form.

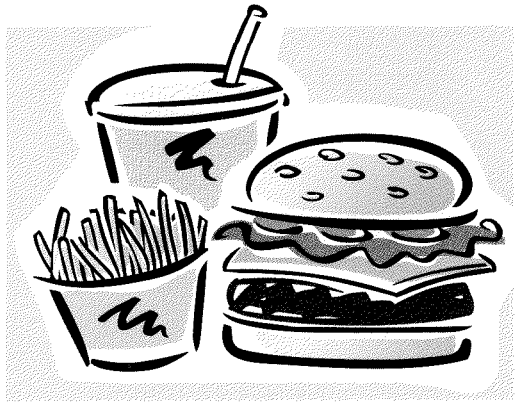
—Josh Larsen

©Universal Pictures

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Edited by Eli Lehrer

Digest



Summaries of important new research from the nation's universities, think tanks, and investigative publications

SOCIETY

A Himalayan McDonald's?

Tyler Cowen, "The Fate of Culture," in *Wilson Quarterly,* Autumn 2002 (wilsonquarterly.com)

A George Mason University economist believes that the small Himalayan kingdom of Bhutan would be better off if it had a McDonald's. In an article adapted from his upcoming book *Creative Destruction: How Globalization is Changing the World's Cultures*, commercial culture guru Tyler Cowen argues that globalization has many positive effects on traditional cultures. By providing new options and opportunities to individuals, globalization actually increases cultural diversity. As a result of globalized culture, the rural shepherd, for example, can become a global singing sensation without actually leaving home.

Cultures, Cowen observes, have never existed in total isolation. The synthesis of outside influences—the joining of the familiar and the foregin—has always created hybrids. The definition of cultural diversity, he argues, should not only cover the differences between cultures at the same point in time but also the changes within the a culture over time. Critics of globalization "decry the passing of cultures and implicitly hope to freeze them at particular times—as if to say that Bali reached a state of perfection in, say 1968, and should never change." Westerners who oppose globalization of cultures, in effect, want to treat other peoples as if they are residents of a "cultural theme park." While it's sad when a traditional culture fades away, it isn't fair to the residents of poor countries to insist that their cultures remain static. Through strict isolationist policies, nations like Bhutan have maintained traditional art and religion. But they have also maintained traditional problems such as poverty and malnutrition. Both they and world culture, Cowen believes, would be better off if globalization were allowed to affect their cultures.

—*Elizabeth Twitchell*

Let Colleges Pick Accreditors

George Leef and Roxana Burris, "Can College Accreditation Live Up to its Promise?" *American Council of Trustees and Alumni,* October 2002 (goacta.org)

Since the federal government began playing a major role in higher education following the end of the Second World War, nearly all American colleges and universities have been subject to regular inspections by regional accrediting organizations. While the process technically remains voluntary, students at unaccredited schools can not receive federal financial aid. A new report from the American Council of Trustees and Alumni (ACTA) questions the value of accreditation and recommends major changes in the process. ACTA researchers George Leef and Roxana Burris complain that the existing accreditation process tends to measure input such as the number of books in an institution's library and its management practices rather than outputs such as student learning and research productivity.

Current accreditation standards, the two find, are almost entirely divorced from real educational quality and often tend to impose trendy (almost always leftist) ideas on institutions of higher education.

The two authors make three major recommendations for fixing the accreditation process:

Make it optional: The process, as it currently exists, does little good for higher education. Accreditation should not be mandatory for schools seeking to remain eligible for federal financial aid.

Involve Trustees: Trustees should not leave the accrediting process entirely to an institution's administration but, instead, should actively involve themselves in the process, including making a deliberative decision on whether to seek accreditation in the first place.

Create Competition: Currently, eight regional accreditors enjoy *de facto* monopolies over their respective regions of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

country. By letting different organizations bid to accredit institutions, the process would become more businesslike and helpful to the institutions under review.

If these changes are made, Leef and Burris conclude, "accreditation would thus be put to the test of the market and, if it survives, it would only do so by providing colleges and universities with valuable services that are worth what they cost."

POLITICS

Too Much Devolution

Michael Greve, "States' Rights on Steroids," in *AEI Federalist Outlook,* September/October 2002 (aei.org)

Following a successful crusade to regulate the tobacco industry through a series of lawsuits, state attorneys general have turned their attention to pharmaceutical manufacturers and their fat bank accounts. AEI fellow Michael Greve believes that this new trial-lawyer-led attack could result in a heavily regulated quasi-public drug industry that does little more than produce "phony remedies for politically favored maladies and body parts." The attorneys general seek both to extract money from the companies for "unfair" marketing practices and to regulate them through litigation.

Although pharmaceutical companies, unlike tobacco manufacturers, make products which almost everyone agrees are beneficial, they prove a tempting target because there are few of them and they produce products that are very easy to transport across state lines. Manufacturers of easy-to-transport goods make more attractive targets because their distribution networks make it almost impossible for manufacturers to pass the costs from one state's litigation onto the citizens of that state alone. Consolidated industries, likewise, are much easier to sue: Suing every fast food establishment in the country would be impossible, but suing every drug company is reasonably simple. As a result, once the industry reaches a regulatory settlement with just a few states, it needs to pass the costs onto consumers all around the country. In effect, a few states can create regulations for the entire nation.

The higher costs then encourage other states to sign onto the settlement to get its benefits since they are paying the costs anyway. Greve finds this state of affairs troubling for several reasons. First, it creates complex regulatory regimes without any input from elected legislators. Second, trial lawyers—through careful selection of locations and judges—can easily bring cases in areas where they will get a sympathetic hearing. No company, on the other hand, can manage to influence the judges or attorneys general in every state in the union. Finally, companies—even within the same industry—have a very difficult time presenting a united front against parasitic trial lawyers.

As a result of this confluence of forces, Greve finds that the litigation industry puts "states rights on steroids" by allowing a few aggressive attorneys general to create a regulatory regime for the entire country. He calls on the federal courts to reassert the federal government's right to engage in national regulation.

SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENT

Red, Red Leaves

David Lee and Kevin Gould, "Why Leaves Turn Red," in *American Scientist,* November/December 2002 (americanscientist.org)

Each fall, leaves turn bright red on many trees. Despite years of research, scientists still don't know exactly why. Florida International University professor David Lee and University of Aukland (New Zealand) researcher Kevin Gould, however, believe that a red pigment called anthocyanin bears much of the responsibility.

Anthocyanin protects leaves in two ways: first, as an antioxidant, it neutralizes free radicals that wreak havoc on the life processes within leaves if left unchecked. More important, anthocyanin shields chloroplasts—intracellular structures which change sunlight into food for plants through photosynthesis—from intense heat and sunlight. Lee and Gould performed an experiment that measured the effects of harsh light on green leaves and red leaves.

Overexposure to bright light hastened the breakdown of the photosynthetic process in the green leaves. On the other hand, recovery from the shock of light occurred more quickly, and photosynthesis continued, in the red leaves—whose photosynthetic tissues were shielded by a layer of anthocyanin—even at low fall temperatures.

Several questions remain about the ecological functions and origins of anthocyanin. Most important, Lee and Gould wonder why plants would evolve to create this protective pigment for leaves that are due to fall off anyway. Lee and Gould hypothesize that anthocyanin aids in the transfer of nitrogen from the dying leaf back into the woody part of the plant. This allows the plant to grow leaves again the following spring. —*Rachel Jurado*

BUSINESS AND ECONOMICS

CEOs Get Insecure

Chuck Lucier et al., "Why CEOs Fall," in *Strategy+Business,* Third Quarter 2002 (strategy-business.com)

The job market, three Booz Allen & Hamilton consultants argue, is beginning to treat corporate chief executive officers a lot like professional athletes. Today's CEOs are "young people with short, well-compensated careers that continue only as long as they perform at exceptional levels." Based on the first comprehensive study of CEO succession at the world's 2,500 largest companies,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the three authors find that turnover at the top of the world's largest businesses accelerated significantly during the 1990s. As recently as 1995, nearly three quarters of CEOs either died in office or retired after long careers. By 2001, more than half were fired for poor performance. (The consultants used media reports rather than official company press releases to determine why CEOs left.)

The median tenure of a big-company CEO declined from nine and a half years in 1995 to just over seven in 2001. Some of the consultants' findings buck conventional wisdom. European and Asian boards of directors actually fired CEOs more often than their American counterparts. CEOs who were eventually ousted for poor performance, likewise, *outperformed* their peers in the first few years of their tenure.

The fundamental reason why CEOs get fired, however, was ultimately what most corporate observers have long known: CEOs (at least those in Europe and North America) lost their jobs when they failed to boost their company's stock price. The study's authors believe that CEOs have almost no choice in the matter. "They must be remarkable," they write. "Otherwise, their professional lives are short."

OTHER COUNTRIES

Troubled Arabia

Richard Engel, "Yemen Feels the Backlash," in *Jane's Defense Weekly*, October 16, 2002 (jdw.janes.com)

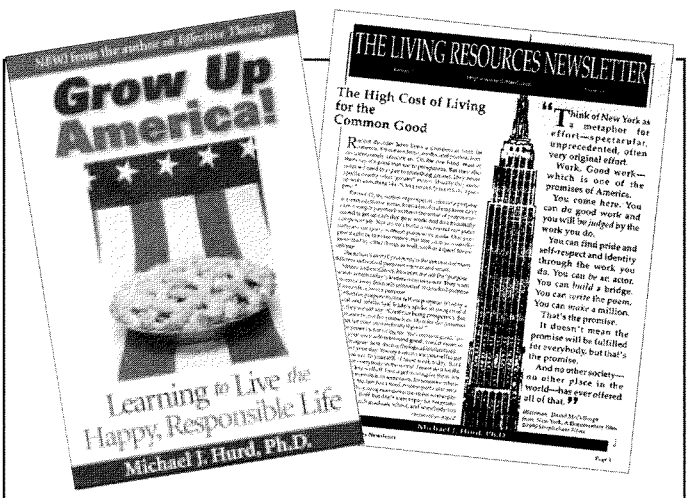
The government of Yemen, a small, poor state on the Arabian peninsula that has backed the U.S. in the war on terror may face threats to its existence as a result of its continuing crackdown on Islamic militants. Using last October's attack on the French oil-tanker *Limburg* as a jumping-off point, *Jane's* correspondent Richard Engel reports that dissent is growing among the populace in response to the United States' increasingly assertive role in the nation's affairs. The country has been of particular interest to the U.S. since al-Qaeda attacked the warship *USS Cole* in 2000. Since September 11, the United States has trained Yemeni troops to fight terror; as many as 30 U.S. special forces commandos now work inside the country. A senior Yemeni official also tells Engel that an American ship is stationed off the country's coast to monitor radio signals.

The Yemeni government has also cracked down on extremist Islamic religious schools and encouraged imams to tone down their messages. Many Yemenis, however, regard Osama bin Laden as a hero and, the mostly pro-American government of President Ali Abdullah Saleh managed to win a civil war against communists largely with the assistance of radical Islamic *mujahedin* sympathetic to bin Laden.

Yemen's many tribes—the real source of political power in the nation—have also maintained a long tradition of resistance to central authority. The U.S. ambassador to Yemen, Edward Hull, also gives Engel an on-the-record interview in which he pledges that America will support the ruling regime in Yemen so long as the nation's hardline anti-terror policies continue.

Our Values *continued from page 43*

What constitutes the core values of a political party is an interesting philosophical question. One could look at the platforms adopted at the party's conventions, but given the platitudinous character of those meaningless documents, it is doubtful that such an exercise would produce particularly satisfying results. Another approach would be to analyze the way in which Democrats voted on key issues in Congress. This would probably be a productive course to follow, particularly with respect to domestic issues such as social security and the minimum wage. But it is doubtful that it would shed much light on the fundamental commitments of the party on the far more diverse and complex foreign policy challenges that require Congressional approval. The Democratic record at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue is clear: Regime change in Iraq is, indeed, consistent with the core values of the Democratic Party.



"...a voice the world needs to hear"

Read Dr. Michael Hurd's
Daily Dose of Reason
every day—free—at www.DrHurd.com

DrHurd.com

Dr. Hurd's books and subscriptions to The Living Resources Newsletter are available online at DrHurd.com or by phone at 800-358-3507 ext. 2

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Opinion Pulse

Edited by Karlyn Bowman

The Homefront: World War II

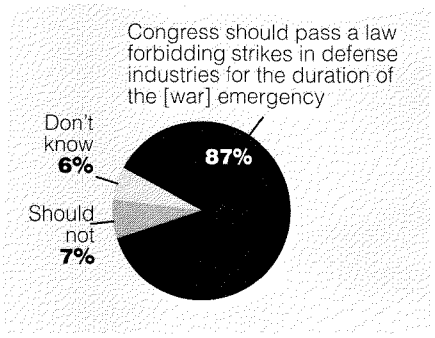
Polling was in its infancy during World War II, and Gallup and Roper asked Americans many interesting questions about the war and the homefront. In commentary on its 1941 Roper poll, *Fortune* magazine said that although the nation's leaders had done "a certain amount of pussyfooting about what may be required of the population to win the war on the homefront," the public "does not expect to pass the buck in the winning of a hard war." Americans were prepared to make considerable sacrifices and give government significant power during the emergency.

Question: If we were actually in the war and the government put these things into effect, which would you...?

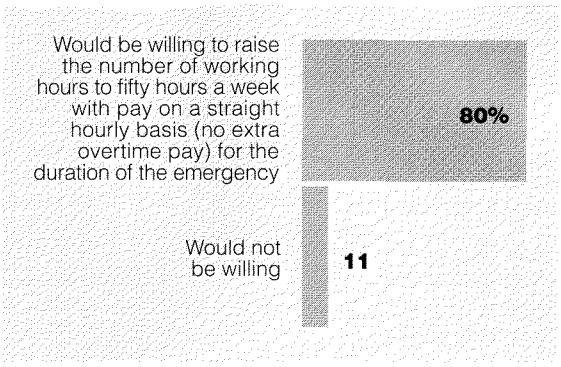
	Would do willingly	Would do unwillingly	Would fight against
Pay double the present taxes on luxuries such as movies, tobacco, liquor, etc.	78%	14%	4%
Pay a general sales tax on everything you buy	75	16	5
Cut down your gasoline consumption by one third	75	16	7
Support a national prohibition law	40	18	33
Support a change in income tax requirements to include all income over $500 a year	38	27	23
Asked of men only			
Spend a day a week in training for homeland defense	89	6	3
Be drafted into the armed forces for possible service abroad	53	25	19
Asked of women only			
Spend a day a week in Red Cross work	89	7	2
Give up your aluminum pots and pans	79	15	5
Move your husband into a defense job with poorer pay and prospects	38	35	19
Have your son drafted for possible service abroad	38	36	22
Have your husband drafted for possible service abroad	27	37	32

Source: Elmo Roper for *Fortune*, 1941.

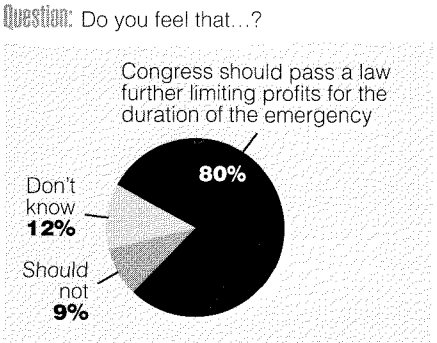
Question: Do you feel that...?



Question: Would you...?



Question: Do you feel that...?

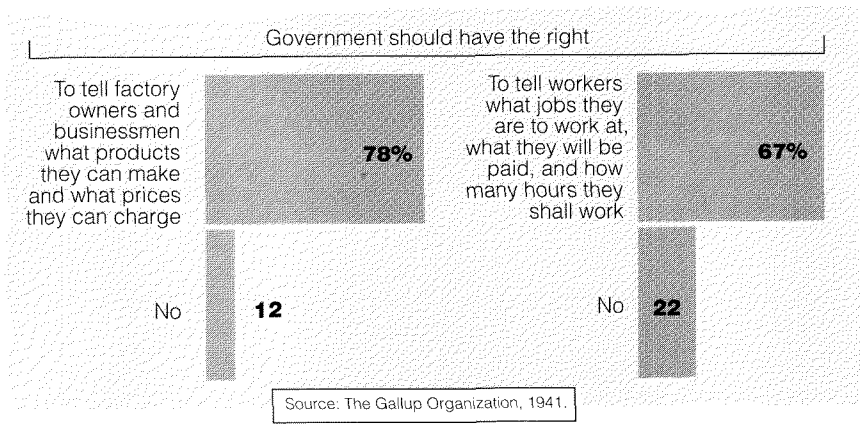


Source: Elmo Roper for *Fortune*, 1942.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

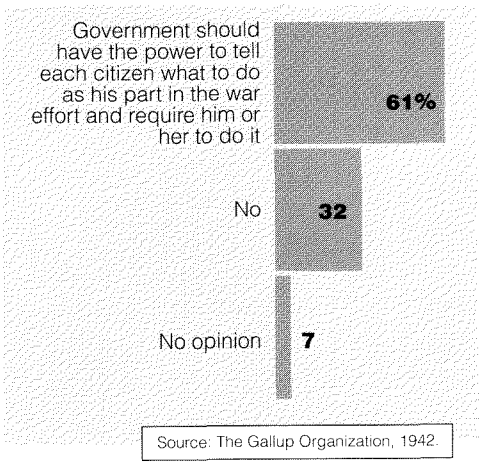
During World War II, Americans were so committed to the war effort and had so few reservations about the federal government's power that they were willing to let the government tell them what jobs to take, what they would be paid, and how many hours they would work. At home, people were willing to have employers deduct money from their salaries for war bonds, drive 35 miles per hour to save rubber, collect scrap material, and give up double-feature movies to save film. In 1943, 54 percent planned to have a victory garden.

Question: In a time of war...



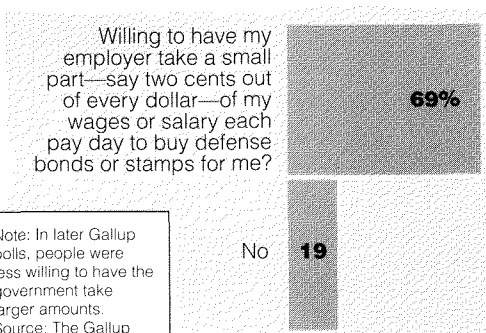
Source: The Gallup Organization, 1941.

Question: After finding out what each person can do...



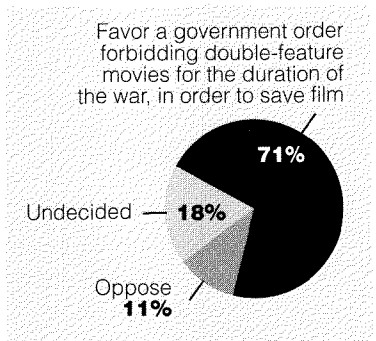
Source: The Gallup Organization, 1942.

Question: Would you be...?



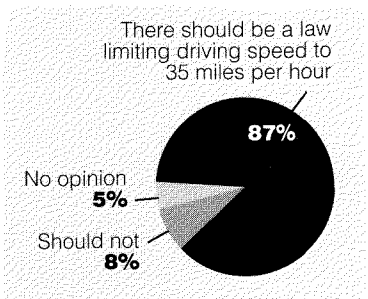
Note: In later Gallup polls, people were less willing to have the government take larger amounts.
Source: The Gallup Organization, 1941.

Question: It has been suggested that the government issue an order... Do you...?



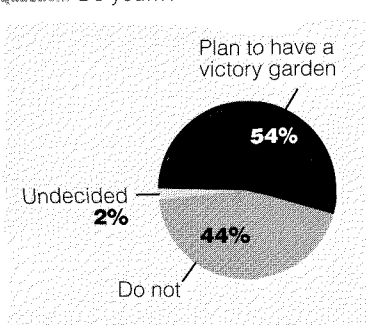
Source: The Gallup Organization, 1942.

Question: In order to save rubber, do you think...?



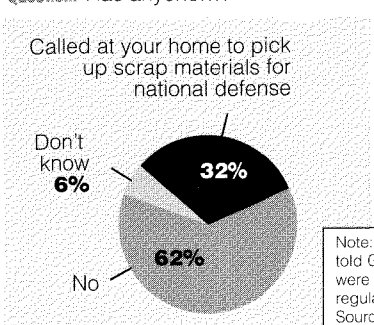
Source: The Gallup Organization, 1942.

Question: Do you...?



Source: The Gallup Organization, 1943.

Question: Has anyone...?



Note: In 1944, 61 percent told Gallup that they were saving scrap paper regularly.
Source: The Gallup Organization, 1942.

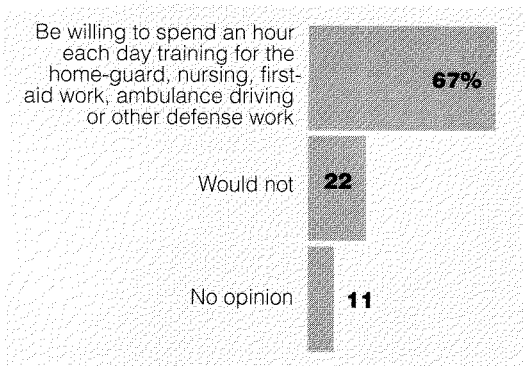
When Gallup asked in 1945 which rationed items people found it hardest to cut down on, people mentioned meat, coffee, gasoline, sugar, butter, canned goods, shoes, fuel oil, tires, and cheese.

When asked in 1943, which things (aside from food) they needed and would buy if they could get them, people wanted tires and tubes, stockings, refrigerators, automobiles, washing machines, electric irons, shoes, hairpins, stoves, kitchen utensils, elastic articles, radios, safety pins.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

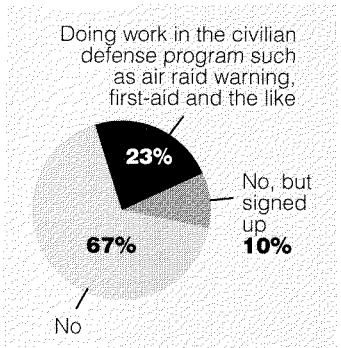
Many Americans stepped up to the plate on homeland defense during World War II. About a third said they volunteered in some capacity. In 1944, however, two thirds agreed with the critique that the population wasn't taking the war seriously enough, and 40 percent in another question thought most Americans went about their business as if there were no war. In 1944, 36 percent said they had made sacrifices during the war. Forty-four percent said the government had not gone far enough in asking people to make sacrifices, and 40 percent said government efforts had been about right.

Question: Would you personally...?



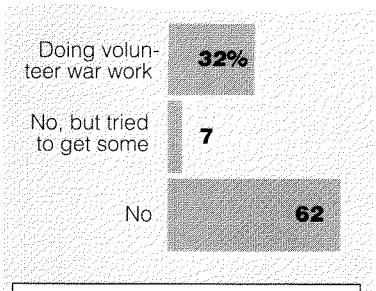
Source: The Gallup Organization, 1941.

Question: Outside of your regular employment, are you...?



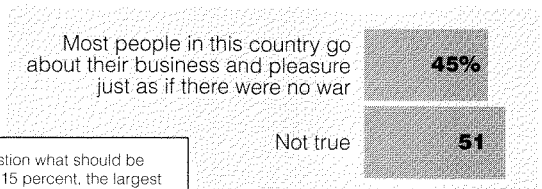
Source: The Gallup Organization, 1942.

Question: Are you...? If no, Have you tried to get some?



Note: Those who said they had not done any war work gave the following reasons: no time because of jobs or children (40 percent), age or illness (17 percent), didn't know where to turn (7 percent), and had a defense job and could be expected to be called to service (5 percent).
Source: Elmo Roper for *Fortune*, 1942.

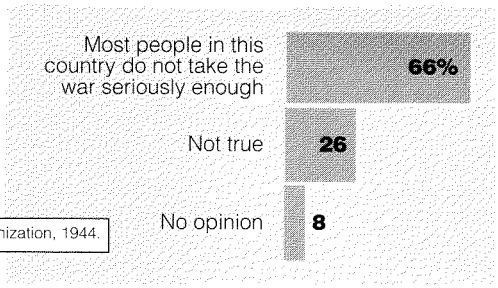
Question: Soldiers back from the war fronts say most people in this country go about their business and pleasure just as if there were no war. Do you think...?



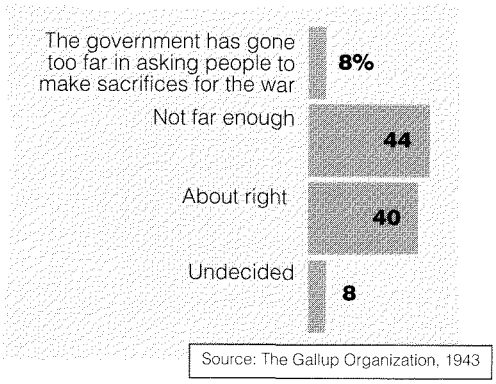
Note: When asked in a follow-up question what should be done about this situation, if anything, 15 percent, the largest response, said that we couldn't do anything about it. Ten percent said we should do nothing about it, it is up to people themselves. No other response was given by more than 8 percent of those surveyed.

Source: The Gallup Organization, 1944.

Question: Soldiers back from the war front say most people in this country do not take the war seriously enough. Do you think...?

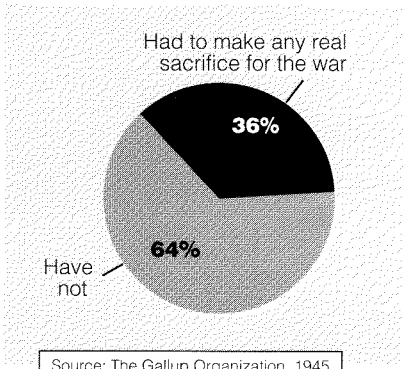


Question: In general, do you think...?



Source: The Gallup Organization, 1943

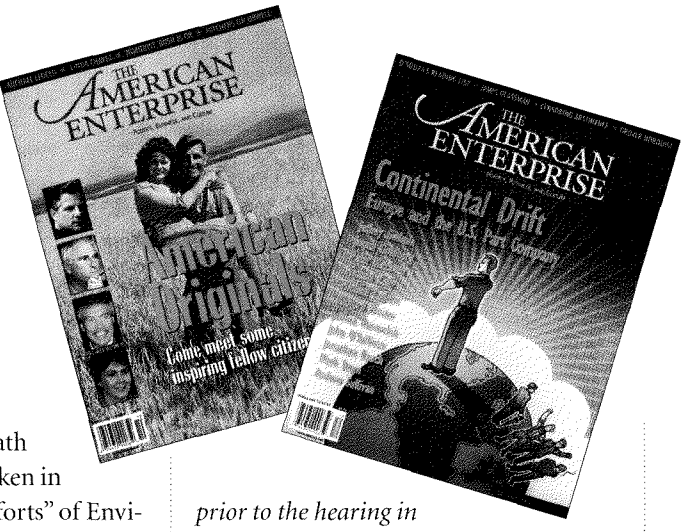
Question: Have you...?



Source: The Gallup Organization, 1945.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Mail



"Old and in the Way" (BIRD'S EYE), "Our Weak Friends" (SCAN), "Irritating and Irrelevant," "Europe Loses its Mind" —read some article titles from your December issue. Might you not have overdone it a bit? I understand that you have been provoked by silly anti-American sniping from the other side. It is now time to take a break.

Europe, after all, is peaceful, free, and, soon, whole. Europeans have to attend to sluggish economic growth, corrupt corporate governance, high taxes, underfunded pension systems, poor public education, and problems with the assimiliation of Muslim immigrants. The United States faces many of these problems too. We should be helping each other on both sides of the Atlantic rather than sneering across it.

A European friend who has lived in the U.S. for 20 years, a staunch Atlanticist and a card-carrying member of America's conservative elite told me recently: "I used to think of Washington as simply our head office, the headquarters of the free world. Suddenly, I'm hearing that as a European I'm not welcome here anymore."

Radek Sikorski
Executive Director, New Atlantic Initiative
American Enterprise Institute

Blake Hurst not only fabricated a charge against Environmental Defense, but also neglected to mention the work we are doing to preserve endangered species by working with private land-owners ("Calamity in Klamath," October/November). Hurst's assertion that the "broken promise" to Klamath basin landowners was "broken in large part because of the efforts" of Environmental Defense is utterly false. We had absolutely nothing to do with the government's decision to curtail water supplies to Klamath basin irrigators, a decision made by the current administration in April 2001 (not the day before President Clinton left office, as Hurst wrongly reported).

While we've had no involvement with either the government or anyone else in the Klamath basin, we are working closely, and successfully, with agricultural and other private property owners in many other communities to solve difficult conflicts between endangered-species conservation and the objectives of individual landowners.

Private landowners are essential for recovery of many endangered species. After all, they own the land where recovery must occur, and only they have the ability to manage that land in ways that facilitate recovery.

Michael J. Bean
Chair, Wildlife Program
Environmental Defense

Blake Hurst replies:
On the day I had the mixed pleasure of meeting a representative of Environmental Defense, the organization was testifying against a set of common sense reforms to the Endangered Species Act, reforms that, had they been in place, would have avoided the tragedies of the Klamath Project. I apologize if I left the wrong impression about Environmental Defense's activities prior to the hearing in question. President Clinton did, however, set in motion the chain of events that led to the irrigation cutoff, with decisions made by agencies that did not yet have adult supervision early in the Bush administration. I commend Environmental Defense for its recognition of the importance of private property, and its willingness to work toward voluntary solutions to environmental problems.

Karl Zinsmeister's "Old and in the Way" (BIRD'S EYE, December) should be required reading for young people before they go off to Europe. The idyllic countryside and the cosmopolitan cities they see may, in fact, be in their final days.

While Eurocrats lecture Americans about our lack of sophistication, Europe's backward policies have invited mass immigration while obstructing assimilation. This sets the stage for isolation and resentment of minorities.

Fifty years hence, I see Europe not as a cultural museum whose days are past, but as a cultural ruin. I'm not so certain that it will be a desirable destination.

John Povejsil
Forest Lake, Minnesota

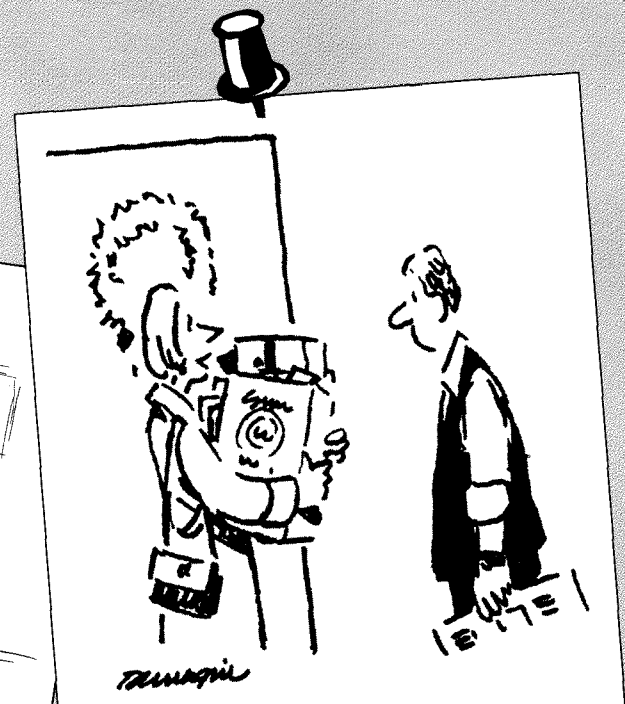
I have read the December edition of *TAE*, and I find it disturbing that our allies are sliding down the path that has destabilized their societies before. Many of these same trends are infecting America as well.

Tom Swan
Springfield, Illinois

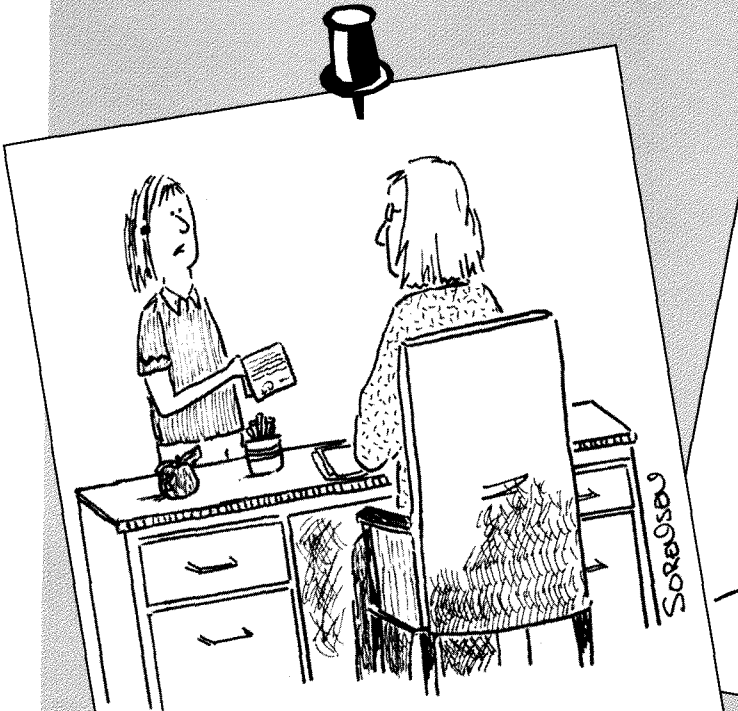
The American Enterprise welcomes your comments. Send e-mail to tae@aei.org. Or write "The Mail," The American Enterprise, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Or fax (202) 862–5867. Please include your address and phone number. Published letters may be edited for length and clarity.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

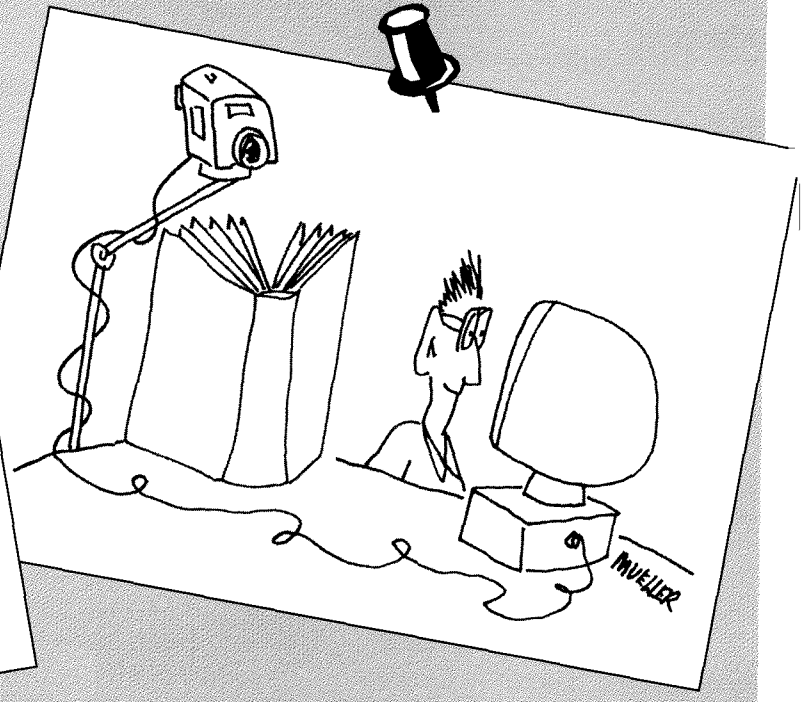
"You're having a bad reaction to getting old."



"Wait 'til you see what you got me for Christmas!"

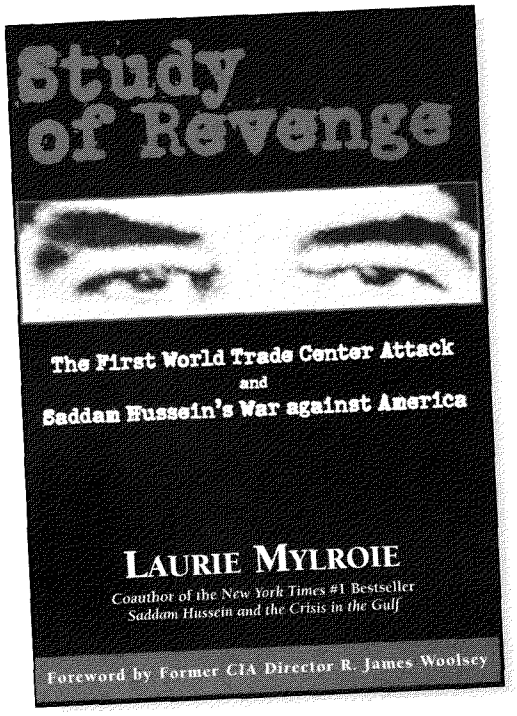


"This C+ isn't consistent with the vision I have of myself."



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WAS SADDAM HUSSEIN INVOLVED IN THE WORLD TRADE CENTER ATTACKS? . . .



325 pages • ISBN 0-8447-4169-8 • $24.95 hardcover

"Laurie Mylroie's provocative and disturbing book argues powerfully that the shadowy mastermind of the 1993 bombing of New York's World Trade Center, Ramzi Yousef, was in fact an agent of Iraqi intelligence. If so, what would that tell us about the extent of Saddam Hussein's ambitions? How would it change our view of Iraq's continuing efforts to retain weapons of mass destruction and to acquire new ones? How would it affect our judgments about the collapse of U.S. policy toward Iraq and the need for a fundamentally new policy? These are questions that urgently need to be answered."

—**Paul Wolfowitz,** deputy secretary of defense

"Laurie Mylroie has amassed convincing evidence of Saddam Hussein's involvement in the first attempt to blow up the World Trade Center. If she is right . . . Saddam was probably involved in the September 11, 2001, attack as well.

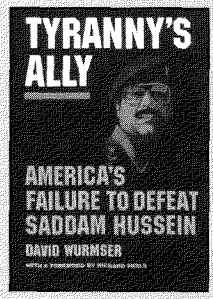
—**Richard Perle,** assistant secretary of defense for international security policy, 1981–1987

"*Study of Revenge* is a fascinating book. . . . Mylroie describes the major terrorist bombings in recent decades and the major terrorists. . . . An unnamed intelligence source seems to speak for her, 'The finger of suspicion points straight at Saddam.'"

—**Jeane J. Kirkpatrick,** U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, 1981–1985

Available in bookstores

ALSO OF INTEREST:

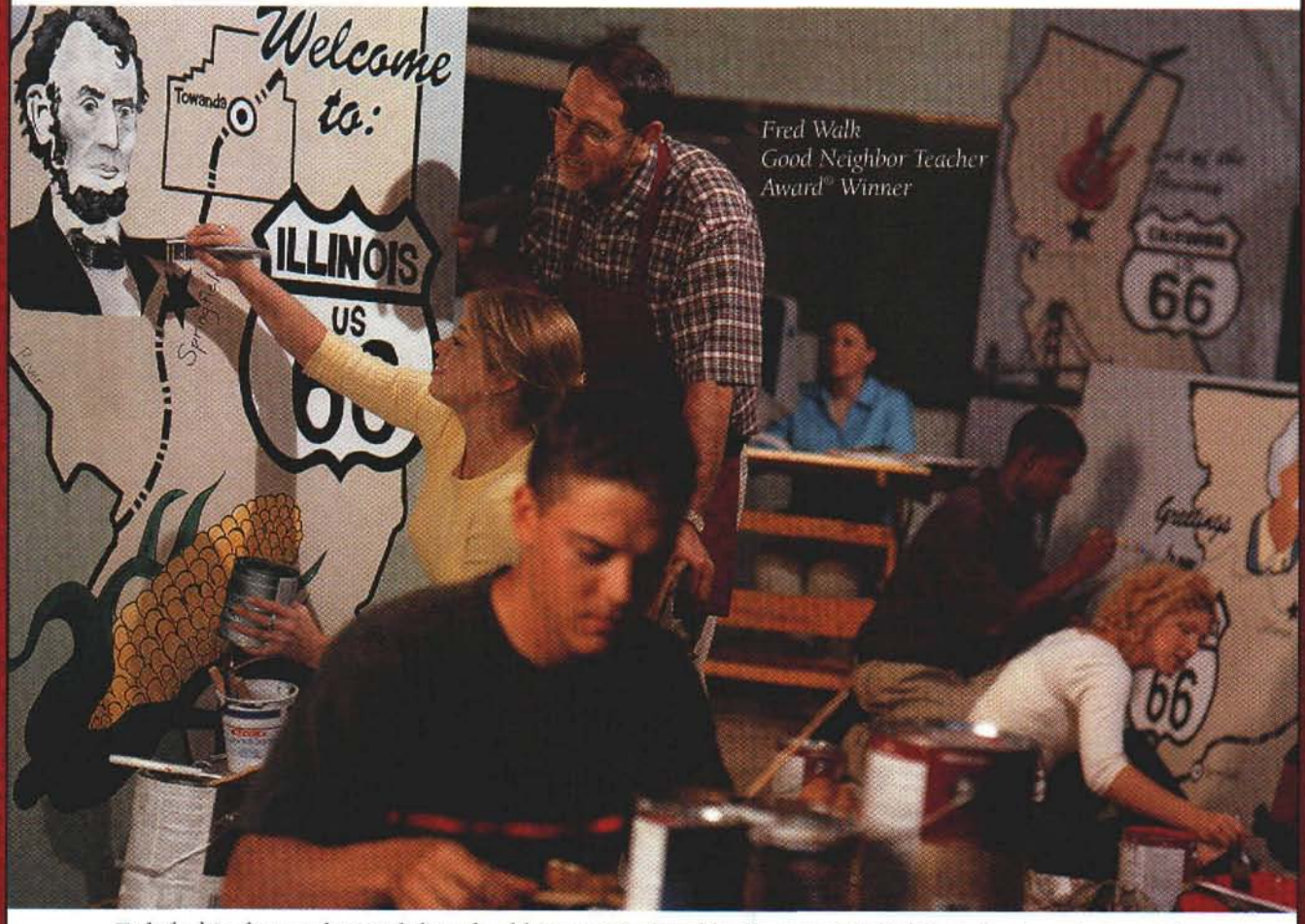


186 pages
ISBN 0-8447-4074-8
$14.95 paper

AEI PRESS, Publisher for the American Enterprise Institute
Washington, D.C. 800.937.5557 www.aei.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WE HAVE THE SAME HEROES.
TEACHERS WHO INSPIRE.
WE LIVE WHERE YOU LIVE.™



Fred Walk
Good Neighbor Teacher Award® Winner

To help his class understand the role old Route 66 played in the past, Mr. Walk's students created murals, brochures and interviewed residents, which helped them experience a part of local history. State Farm is proud to present Fred Walk with the Good Neighbor Teacher Award and also donate $10,000 to Normal Community High School in Normal, Illinois.

LIKE A GOOD NEIGHBOR STATE FARM INSURANCE STATE FARM IS THERE.™

statefarm.com®

State Farm Insurance Companies • Home Offices: Bloomington, Illinois

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED